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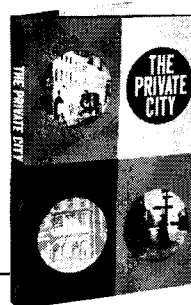
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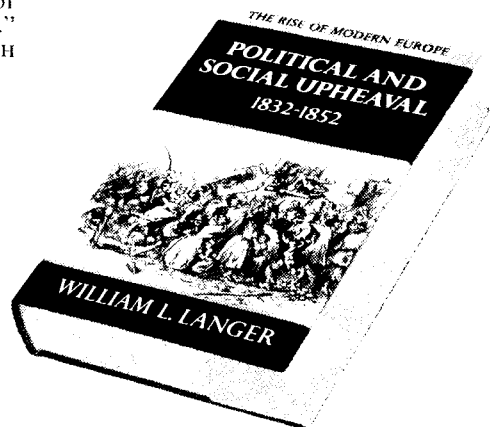
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos: The Birth and Development of a Myth

THOMAS KELLY

MODERN scholars agree unanimously that Sparta and Argos were “traditional enemies,” that is, that the two states were eternally and unalterably hostile toward one another throughout the long centuries of Greek history.<sup>1</sup> This presumed enmity has contributed significantly to the creation of an artificial chronology for Argive history, particularly with respect to that most illustrious and elusive Argive, the tyrant Pheidon. Ever since antiquity, moreover, there has been a tendency to regard the traditional enmity between Argos and Sparta as the nucleus around which interstate relations in the Peloponnesus revolved. The author of a recently published textbook summarizes nearly two hundred years of Peloponnesian history as follows:

Sparta challenged Argos by planting refugees from Asine (a city of the Argolid annexed by Argos) on the coast of Messenia. Argos took up the challenge and defeated Sparta decisively at Hysiae in 669. The decline of Sparta’s prestige and the success of Argos may have encouraged Pisa to revolt from Elis in 668 and gain control of the sanctuary at Olympia by 660. . . . Then c. 640 the Messenians revolted and with the aid of Pisa,

► Mr. Kelly, who worked in Greece on a Fulbright fellowship during 1962–63, received his doctorate in 1964 from the University of Illinois, where he studied with Chester G. Starr. He is assistant professor of history at the University of Minnesota. Mr. Kelly would like to express his appreciation to his colleague, Tom B. Jones, who read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions, and to Professor Richard C. Nelson of Augsburg College for drawing the map.

<sup>1</sup>Two recently published works have been of inestimable value both for their general point of view and their specific content: Eugène N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* (Stockholm, 1965); and Chester G. Starr, “The Credibility of Early Spartan History,” *Historia*, XIV (No. 3, 1965), 257–72.

Arcadia, Argos, and Sicyon, Sparta fought for her existence for nineteen years, receiving some aid from Corinth, Samos, and Lepreatis. Sparta's victory was decisive. Her possession of Messenia was assured, her institutions vindicated, and her military prowess established. And in 546 she defeated Argos in a battle which developed from a contest between "Three Hundred Champions" on each side.<sup>2</sup>

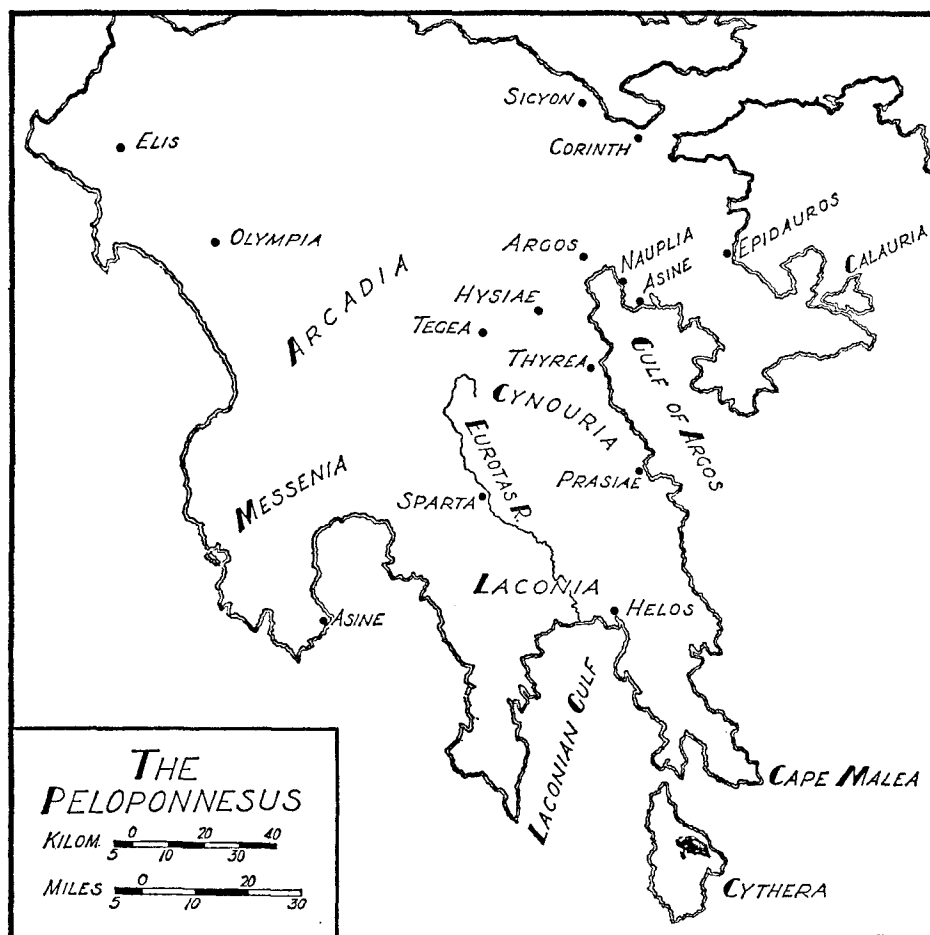
Yet, a careful examination of the ancient literary evidence on which the notion of early Spartan-Argive enmity is founded suggests that this enmity is not an established historical fact, but an unwarranted and erroneous assumption. It is true that much animosity did exist between the two states from time to time after the middle of the sixth century,<sup>3</sup> but a proper appreciation of the political geography of the eastern Peloponnesus would seem to preclude any bitter enmity between them much, if any, before about 550 B.C. When the literary evidence is considered first in the light of what we now know about early Greek historical development generally, then in the light of existing archaeological evidence, the geographical realities of the eastern Peloponnesus, and, finally, in the context of the period in which this literature was written, it becomes clear that Argos and Sparta could not have been bitter enemies from time immemorial as we have been led to believe. The idea that they were appears to be an artificial construct which was created initially in the fourth century B.C. and to which subsequent generations added their own misconceptions.

The extant Greek literary remains of pre-fifth-century date reveal no hint of enmity between Argos and Sparta; in itself this is not surprising nor particularly significant. The subject matter of much of this early literature did not provide its authors with an opportunity to refer or even allude to any enmity between the two states, even if it had been present. One would hardly expect to find reference to Argive-Spartan enmity in, for example, the poetry of Hesiod or Sappho. It must be kept in mind, too, that the literary remains are often in fragmentary condition and that we have none at all from Argos and very little from Sparta. One might, however, expect to find allusions to Argive-Spartan enmity in the poetry of Tyrtaeus, Alcman, or Terpander, but Tyrtaeus was apparently preoccupied with the Messenian War and internal political reform at Sparta, and none of the surviving fragments of Alcman or Terpander seem to be especially concerned with political or historical events.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1967), 136-37. These same events are interpreted in much the same way in any history of Sparta; see, e.g., George L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), *passim*; and William G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-192 B.C.* (London, 1968), 35, 66-67, 69-74.

<sup>3</sup> Although it lies beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth noting here that there has also been a tendency to exaggerate the importance of Spartan-Argive enmity in the fifth century as well as in the earlier period. I hope to treat this matter more fully elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> The fragments of Tyrtaeus have been collected by Ernst Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (3 vols., 3d ed., Leipzig, 1949-52), I, 4-18. I have relied on Denys L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), for the fragments of Alcman (pp. 1-91) and Terpander (pp. 362-63). Good discussions of these poets will be found in Cecil M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), and *Greek Lyric Poetry* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1961).



It is perhaps more surprising that writers who lived and wrote in the fifth century do not seem to know about any traditional or long-standing enmity between Argos and Sparta either. So far as I am aware, there is not a single direct reference to hostility between the two states at an early date in the surviving works of the logographers, sophists, philosophers, tragedians,<sup>5</sup> comedians, or poets<sup>6</sup> who wrote in this period. If Hellanicus, Acusilaus, or the Argive poetess Telesilla,<sup>7</sup> for example, knew of any bitter enmity between the two states we do not hear of it in the meager fragments of their works that have come down to

<sup>5</sup> Several of the lost plays of Euripides, notably the *Archelaus*, *Temenus*, and *Temenidae*, may well have made reference to early struggles between Argos and Sparta, but there is no hint of this in the few surviving fragments of these plays.

<sup>6</sup> It must be mentioned here that an epigram preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* 7.431, where it is attributed to Simonides of Ceos, mentions the sixth-century Battle of Champions between Argos and Sparta, but most scholars do not believe that Simonides was its author; on this, see the discussion of Angelo Brelich, *Guerre, agoni, e culti nella grecia arcaica* (Bonn, 1961), 25–26.

<sup>7</sup> The fragments of Hellanicus and Acusilaus have been collected and analyzed by Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [hereafter cited as *FGH*] (16 vols., Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58), I, 47–58, 104–52. The fragments of Telesilla have been assembled by Page, *Poetae Melici*

us. There are, in fact, a number of references or allusions to good relations between Argos and Sparta in works written in the fifth century. Pindar seems to praise both cities in the same ode,<sup>8</sup> and later in the century both Aristophanes and Pherecrates berate the Argives for being too friendly toward the Spartans.<sup>9</sup>

It is only in the pages of the great historians of the fifth century that one first encounters written evidence of hostility between Argos and Sparta, but there is no indication that either Herodotus or Thucydides thought that there was any bitter, long-standing enmity between the two states. Thucydides did know of much warfare between them in his day and once refers to the sixth-century Battle of Champions, but he nowhere implies that they were bitterly hostile toward one another throughout the course of their existence.<sup>10</sup> Herodotus records three wars between Argos and Sparta,<sup>11</sup> and he tells us about the Argive refusal to take part in the Persian War because of fear of Spartan domination;<sup>12</sup> the earliest war between the two states mentioned by Herodotus is, however, the Battle of Champions. His silence on any earlier conflict between Argos and Sparta is not inherently important, but this silence must be considered in the light of other information that Herodotus supplies.

A significant passage occurs in a speech that he attributes to Aristagoras of Miletus, who went to Sparta early in the fifth century hoping to convince the Spartans that they would have much to gain by helping the Milesians against the Persians. After describing the wealth of the Persian Empire, Aristagoras concludes his speech thus:

What! you must needs then fight for straitened strips of land of no great worth—fight for that with Messenians, who are as strong as you, and Arcadians and Argives, men that have nought in the way of gold or silver, for which things many are spurred by zeal to fight and die; yet when you can readily be masters of all Asia, will you refuse to essay it?<sup>13</sup>

What must be noticed here is the order in which Herodotus has Aristagoras list the enemies of Sparta: the Messenians, the Arcadians, and only then the Argives.

*Graeci*, 372–74, but Jacoby's commentary on Socrates, *FGrH*, 310 F 6 is indispensable; see also Philip A. Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods: An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 45–53.

<sup>8</sup> Georges Méautis, *Pindar le Dorien* (Neuchâtel, 1962), 375–86, so interprets *Nemean* 10; see also William G. Forrest, "Themistokles and Argos," *Classical Quarterly*, LIV (No. 2, 1960), 228–29.

<sup>9</sup> Aristophanes *Peace* 475–77; John M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* (3 vols., Leiden, 1957–61) (Pherecrates, frag. 19).

<sup>10</sup> At 5.29.1 Thucydides says that Sparta and Argos were always at odds, and at 5.41.2, where he mentions the Battle of Champions, he says they were always disputing over the area of Cynouria. In both passages the key word is *aiet*, which is commonly translated as always. It cannot be taken in a temporal sense, however. In all probability it means no more than constantly or continuously. (On Thucydides' treatment of Sparta, see Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 127–48.)

<sup>11</sup> For the pertinent passages, see Herodotus 1.82, 6.76–83, 9.35 (trans. A. D. Godley [Loeb Classical Library ed., London, 1920]).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.148–49; cf. 9.12 where the Argives promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartans from attacking his forces in northern Greece.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.49. It is interesting to note that when George Rawlinson first translated Herodotus in 1860, he transposed Argives and Arcadians, thereby giving the order of Messenians, Argives, and Arcadians.

One might argue, of course, that this order is more a matter of style than of historical reality, or that since Aristagoras had a map before him, Herodotus has him list Sparta's traditional enemies not in their chronological order, but rather in the order of their geographical proximity to Sparta. Perhaps he did, but information that Herodotus supplies elsewhere leads one to believe that he regarded this as the chronological as well as the geographical order of Sparta's enemies.

Herodotus does not tell us much about Sparta's struggles with Messenia. He does mention the Third Messenian War of the fifth century, and twice he refers to an earlier Spartan war with Messenia, but he tells us nothing about this war and does not date it.<sup>14</sup> It seems likely, however, that he was aware that it occurred at an early date, before there had been any warfare between Sparta and Arcadia. About Sparta's wars with Arcadia, he also tells us little, but he leaves no doubt that the struggle was bitter and lasted for some time. He says clearly that after Sparta's internal political troubles had been alleviated by the Lycurgan reforms, the Spartans first directed their attention against Arcadia, not Argos. They wished, initially, to conquer the whole of this territory, but on the advice of the Delphic oracle decided to concentrate their efforts on one Arcadian city, Tegea.<sup>15</sup> In the late seventh and early sixth centuries Sparta and Tegea fought several wars. The Tegeans were at first victorious and inflicted at least one humiliating defeat upon the Spartans in the Battle of the Fetters. It was not until the reign of the Spartan Kings Anaxandrides and Ariston shortly before the middle of the sixth century that the Spartans were finally able to defeat them.<sup>16</sup> It is worth repeating here that the earliest war between Sparta and Argos that Herodotus specifically mentions took place only after the wars against Tegea. This was the Battle of Champions, which occurred probably in the year 546,<sup>17</sup> and if Herodotus knew of any earlier conflict between the two states he does not mention it. The words that he attributes to Aristagoras would appear, therefore, to

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.35, 9.64, on the Third Messenian War; 3.47, 5.49, on an earlier war between Sparta and Messenia.

<sup>15</sup> On the wars between Sparta and Arcadia, see *ibid.*, 1.65, 66–68. According to Herodotus the Spartans felt compelled to consult the oracle of Delphi for advice on how to defeat the Arcadians, and he preserves the text of two oracles that were supposedly given in reply to the Spartan inquirers. If they are genuine, they would constitute actual written evidence of Spartan-Arcadian enmity that antedates by a century or more any written evidence attesting to Argive-Spartan enmity. Scholarly opinion is, however, about equally divided as to whether or not they are genuine. Herbert W. Parke and Donald E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols., 2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1956), I, 94–95, believe they are authentic, while Roland Crahay, *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote* (Paris, 1956), 153–59, believes they are forgeries.

<sup>16</sup> The date of the final defeat of Tegea by Sparta has never been firmly fixed, though scholars agree that it took place some time about the middle of the sixth century. The modern bibliography is lengthy, but see Huxley, *Early Sparta*, 65–66; Christian Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens* (Lund, 1943), 41–78; Luigi Moretti, "Sparta alla meta del vi. secolo. I: La guerra contro Tegea," *Rivista di filologia classica*, New Ser., XXIV (1946), 87–103.

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus 1.82 is the chief source for the battle, but it is referred to by a number of later writers. Full references to the ancient literature will be found in Luigi Moretti, "Sparta alla meta del vi. secolo. II: La guerra contro Argo per la Tireatide," *Rivista di filologia classica*, New Ser., XXVI (Nos. 3, 4, 1948), 204–22; and Brelich, *Guerre, agoni, e culti nella grecia arcaica*, 24–26. The generally accepted date for the battle is 546, but Henry T. Wade-Gery, "Miltiades," in *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, Eng., 1958), 166, n. 3, argues for 544 B.C.

reflect his views concerning the chronological order of Sparta's struggles with its neighbors. He seems to have regarded warfare between Argos and Sparta as a relatively late phenomenon that began only after Sparta had defeated both the Messenians and the Tegeans. Most ancient writers after Herodotus extended Argive-Spartan enmity back to a much earlier period; the view of these later writers still prevails.

Before I deal with the views of these later writers, however, it will be instructive to consider the whole problem of the origin of Argive-Spartan enmity in the light of what is now known about early Greek historical development generally, early Peloponnesian history specifically, the importance of geography, and the available archaeological evidence. As we shall see, the information that can be derived from a consideration of these factors will confirm Herodotus' view that Argos and Sparta went to war with each other only at a much later date than is commonly believed.

Enough is now known about the Greek Dark Ages to enable us to say that for several centuries following the Dorian invasion there was little contact between most settlements on the Greek mainland. This was essentially a period of local self-sufficiency in which the state as such was virtually nonexistent. It was, in short, a primitive age, and while there was undoubtedly sporadic warfare on a minor scale between the various Greek communities, it was only as the Dark Ages began to wane and the polis emerged that all the necessary preconditions for bitter interstate rivalry could have been present.<sup>18</sup> The one absolutely indispensable precondition for the emergence of bitter hostility between Sparta and Argos was the political consolidation of the area immediately surrounding each of these cities. It is not possible that the two states could have engaged in any warfare on a large scale prior to *synoikismos* in the Argive Plain and the Eurotas Valley. We do not, unfortunately, have much concrete information about either of these developments, but generally speaking it was only in the latter half of the eighth century that Greek states were able to incorporate surrounding areas into their own spheres of influence.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Argos there is archaeological evidence to suggest that it was precisely at this time that the Argives were in the process of imposing their will on the other communities in the Argive Plain. The construction of the Argive Heraeum in the geographical center of the plain and the destruction of Asine seem to be part of this movement, and it would appear that by the time Asine was destroyed (about 715 B.C.), the Argives had largely succeeded in bringing the Argive Plain under their domina-

<sup>18</sup> The best historical account of the Greek Dark Ages is that of Chester G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization 1100-650 B.C.* (New York, 1961).

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas G. L. Hammond, "The Heraeum at Perachora and Corinthian Encroachment," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XLIX (1954), 93-102, believes that Corinth and Megara fought for control of the southern Megarid about this time; John Boardman, "Early Euboean Pottery and History," *ibid.*, LII (1957), 27-29, has argued that Euboea and Chalcis fought several wars for control of the Lelantine Plain in the latter half of the eighth century.



tion.<sup>20</sup> In the case of Sparta, both Ephorus and Pausanias describe its early conquests in Laconia, but their accounts differ widely in detail and in chronology, and neither can be accepted at face value.<sup>21</sup> We must assume, however, that Sparta controlled the area surrounding the city before it felt confident enough to launch an attack against neighboring Messenia. While the First Messenian War cannot be dated precisely, it can hardly have taken place before the closing decades of the eighth century at the earliest.<sup>22</sup> By that time the Spartans must have controlled the area of the Eurotas Valley at least, and perhaps much of Laconia as well. It is not possible to say how much earlier they might have accomplished this, but it is not at all likely that they did so much if any before about 750 B.C. It is difficult to believe that Argos and Sparta could have been seriously at odds with one another prior to this time.

A consideration of Peloponnesian geography may help to explain why Sparta's first wars outside Laconia were not directed against Argos. In historical times Argos and Sparta shared a common border, but it is by no means certain that they did so in the latter part of the eighth century. As noted above, the Argives were only then in the process of securing control over the Argive Plain, and there is no reason to believe that they controlled an area far south of the plain in the direction of Laconia. It is true that Herodotus tells us that the Argives did once control the western coastal area of the Gulf of Argos as far south as the headland at Cape Malea and the island of Cythera as well as other islands lying off the coast,<sup>23</sup> but there is ample reason to believe that Herodotus was here mistaken. Karl J. Beloch has astutely observed that the latter portion of Herodotus' statement, that which credits Argos with controlling Cythera and other unnamed islands, appears to be no more than a remembrance of *Iliad* II. 108, where Agamemnon is referred to as "lord of many islands and of all Argos." Modern scholars have, nonetheless, gone to great lengths to prove that Argos must once have controlled the island, as Herodotus believed.<sup>24</sup> His paraphrase of Chilon's remark that it would be better for Sparta if Cythera would

<sup>20</sup> The evidence for this is discussed in Thomas Kelly, "The Argive Destruction of Asine," *Historia*, XVI (No. 4, 1967), 422-31.

<sup>21</sup> On this, see Starr, "Credibility of Early Spartan History," 270, n. 43. On Spartan expansion generally, see Leo Heidemann, *Die territoriale Entwicklung Lacedämons und Messeniens bis auf Alexander* (Berlin, 1904).

<sup>22</sup> A late eighth-century date is accepted by most scholars; see, e.g., Franz Kiechle, *Messenische Studien* (Kallmünz-Opf, 1959), 9-14; and Brelich, *Guerre, agoni, e culti nella grecia arcaica*, 34-39, though Thomas Lenschau, "Die messenischen Kriege," *Philologus*, XCI (1936-37), 289-307, would date it to the early half of the seventh century.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus 1.82.

<sup>24</sup> Karl J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (4 vols., 2d ed., Strassburg, 1912-27), I, Pt. 1, 204, n. 1; see also Kathleen M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester, Eng., 1949), 281. One such extreme attempt to vindicate Herodotus is that of Wilhelm Vollgraff, "Inscriptions d'Argos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XXVIII (1909), 191, who notes that one of the phratries at Argos bore the name Λυκοφρονίδα. Vollgraff associates this name with Lycophron, the foremost hero of the island of Cythera, and he regards this as proof that Argos once exercised control over the island. George L. Huxley, "An Inscription in Kythera," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, V (No. 1, 1965), 47-49, has recently restated his belief that Argos once controlled the island, but the inscription he publishes there shows that the script used at Cythera, at least in the fifth century, was more closely associated with that in use at Sparta than with that being used at Argos.

sink beneath the waves is often cited as proof that the island remained in Argive hands as late as the middle of the sixth century, but this interpretation surely reads more into the text than Herodotus implies. He only suggests that Chilon recognized the strategic importance of Cythera for the Spartans whether or not it was under their control; what Chilon apparently feared was that a potential enemy might occupy the island and then use it as a bridgehead from which to launch an invasion of Laconia. This is precisely what the Athenians tried to do during the course of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>25</sup>

Argive control of Cythera in the late eighth and early seventh centuries has been reaffirmed recently on the basis of archaeological evidence newly uncovered there, but this conclusion rests on a complete misinterpretation of the evidence. In the course of several digs on the island, there was discovered, among other things, a single subgeometric crater that has been labeled "apparemment Argien." On the basis of this single "apparently Argive" crater Paul Courbin has concluded that we now have proof that Cythera was once controlled by Argos,<sup>26</sup> but surely the discovery of a solitary piece of apparently Argive pottery proves no such thing. If anything it can only suggest that there was hardly any contact between Argos and Cythera in the late eighth and early seventh centuries; this being the case, it does not seem likely that the Argives dominated the island politically. Perhaps the most cogent reason for suspecting if not rejecting outright Herodotus' report is the simple fact that Argive control of Cythera presupposes the existence of an Argive navy, and there is no reason to believe that one existed at this time.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that the ship was one of the least frequently used motifs by Argive artists in the late eighth century.<sup>28</sup> Argos was, moreover, never a trading or commercial power, and during the period of colonization in the late eighth and early seventh centuries did not establish a single colony. Even in the fifth century, that great age of Greek naval activity, the Argives had to rely heavily upon the Athenian navy.<sup>29</sup>

In sum, there is no reason to believe that Argos ever exercised control over the island of Cythera as Herodotus informs us; if he erroneously believed that the Argives once controlled the island, he was compelled to believe that they also

<sup>25</sup> Herodotus 7.235. Huxley (*Early Sparta*, 70) and Arnold H. M. Jones (*Sparta* [Oxford, Eng., 1967], 173) both assume that the island was still controlled by Argos as late as about 550 B.C. On the strategic importance of Cythera in the Peloponnesian War, see Thucydides 4.53-54; cf. 5.14.3, 5.18.7.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* (Paris, 1966), 550, n. 1, 566.

<sup>27</sup> The existence of an Argive navy can only be inferred from Herodotus' statement that Argos controlled Cythera. Thus, for example, Huxley (*Early Sparta*, 26) states categorically that "Argos . . . certainly had a navy, for without one she could not have held Kythera and so much of the Peloponnesian coast." Herodotus 5.86 mentions that the Argives aided the Aeginetans in a war against Athens, but it is not certain that the Argives traveled to the island in Argive ships; they may well have gone in Aeginetan ships. I do not regard the report of Ephorus (*FGrH*, 70 F 176) that Pheidon minted coins on Aegina as sufficient proof that Argos once controlled this island.

<sup>28</sup> Courbin, *Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 445, n. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Thucydides 5.56.1-5 shows that the Argives relied upon the Athenian navy to prevent the Spartans from landing troops at Epidaurus. Argive troops are found aboard Athenian ships at 7.20.1-3, 8.86.8-9; at 8.27.5, however, it seems clear that the Argives had at least some ships of their own.



controlled the mainland opposite the island.<sup>30</sup> In all probability the latter belief is as erroneous as the former. The meager information that we have about the city of Prasiai, which is located far north of Cape Malea, suggests that Argos did not exercise control over any part of the coastline at least in the late seventh and the early half of the sixth centuries. Strabo informs us that Prasiai was one of the original members of the Calaurian amphictiony,<sup>31</sup> and if his report is correct, it must have been an independent community when this association of states came into existence about the middle of the seventh century. Apparently it remained independent until the Spartans defeated the Argives in 546, when it came under Spartan control. At that time the Spartans replaced the Prasians in the amphictiony. Presumably, therefore, Prasiai was not under Argive control at any time after about 650, and if the Argives did not control it they could not have controlled the coast as far south as Cape Malea as Herodotus believed. An appreciation of this places the whole problem of Argive-Spartan relations in its proper perspective. The two states did not have a contiguous border in this section of the Peloponnesus; we must, therefore, look elsewhere for some area where their interests might have clashed.

Thucydides may supply some pertinent information in this respect, for he tells us why Sparta and Argos were constantly at odds, at least in the fifth century. The cause of hostility between them, he says,<sup>32</sup> was the territory of Cynouria, which lies far north of Cape Malea and even a considerable distance north and somewhat to the west of Prasiai. Throughout Greek history Cynouria appears to have been largely isolated; it has, in fact, been so isolated that until quite recently its inhabitants spoke a peculiar dialect of the Greek language. This dialect (Tsakonian) preserved many Homeric words and forms and was so distinctively different from the Greek spoken elsewhere in the country that it was virtually unintelligible to those who were not natives of the area.<sup>33</sup> Herodotus leaves the impression that Cynouria was equally isolated in antiquity. It

<sup>30</sup> See Herodotus 1.82, which is a confused passage. Herodotus states that Cape Malea lies west of Thyrea when, in fact, it is situated to the south. Although Herodotus gives no indication how far Argive control might have extended west of the coastal area of the Gulf of Argos, Huxley (*Early Sparta*, 26-27, 107, n. 121) has argued that the town of Helos, near the opposite coast on the Gulf of Laconia, must have been under Argive control. The sole basis of Huxley's claim, however, is that Heleus, the mythical founder of the town, was the son of Perseus, and the fact that Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 2.4.7) refers to Helos as τῆς Ἀργείας. On the geography and the difficulty of land travel in this area, see Alfred Philippson and Ernst Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften* (4 vols., Frankfurt a. M., 1950-59), III, Pt. 2, 501-503; see also Alan J. B. Wace and F. W. Hasluck, "Laconia II, Topography," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV (1908-1909), 158-76.

<sup>31</sup> Strabo 8.6.14 (374); and see also Thomas Kelly, "The Calaurian Amphictiony," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXX (No. 2, 1966), 113-21, where I have argued that the amphictiony could not have been founded much, if at all, before the middle of the seventh century. Felix Bölte and Ernst Meyer, "Prasiai," in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. August von Pauly and Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1954), cols. 1690-96, summarize what little is known of the history of the site.

<sup>32</sup> Thucydides 5.41.2.

<sup>33</sup> William M. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca: A Supplement to Travels in the Morea* (London, 1846), 304-38, has a lengthy excursus on this dialect, and it has been the subject of numerous monographs; see, e.g., Hubert Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte Tsakonian* (Paris, 1934).

was, he tells us,<sup>34</sup> inhabited by Ionic-speaking Greeks who were Dorianized by time and the Argives, a statement implying that Argive penetration into this area was a slow process.

In Thucydides' day it is certain that both Argos and Sparta were deeply concerned about Cynouria, but it is important to understand why this was the case. Cynouria is a small area geographically; it extends from the foothills of Mount Parnon in the west to the coastline of the Gulf of Argos in the east. It is mostly high upland plateau, and, except for the small Thyreatid Plain situated in its midst, it was not well suited for agriculture.<sup>35</sup> It had, moreover, no known natural resources, and the coastline was inhospitable; the land rose steeply from the water's edge, and there were no good harbors. Cynouria seems, in short, to have had little to attract either Sparta or Argos from a commercial or economic point of view. They were interested in the strategic location of the area. Situated between the Argive Plain and Laconia, Cynouria served as a buffer zone between Argos and Sparta. The Spartans had to control it before they could hope to invade the plain successfully; conversely, the Argives had to control it if they were to prevent the Spartans from invading their territory. It is easy to see why this area was so important to both states in the fifth century, but at the same time it is misleading and inaccurate to assume that they must have been equally concerned about Cynouria at a much earlier date. Neither the Spartans nor Argives could have taken a keen interest in this area prior to the time that they had consolidated the regions immediately surrounding their own cities. Consequently, the two states could hardly have engaged in any serious conflict over Cynouria until the late eighth century at the very earliest.

Any attempt to determine the approximate time at which Argos and Sparta might have become involved in a war over Cynouria, however, cannot fail to take into account the geographical location of the city of Tegea. This Arcadian city is situated directly west of Cynouria, about forty-five kilometers due north of Sparta, and slightly more than thirty kilometers southwest of Argos, not an enviable geographical location. While a Spartan incursion into Messenia or into the inhospitable territory southeast of Laconia would not have directly affected the Tegeans, a Spartan advance in any other direction would have posed a serious threat to the freedom and independence of this Arcadian city. A Spartan move to the northwest would have placed them in western Arcadia and would have threatened Tegea's west flank; a Spartan advance to the north would have precipitated a direct, face-to-face confrontation between the two states. What is more important for our purposes, however, is that any Spartan movement in the

<sup>34</sup> Herodotus 8.73.

<sup>35</sup> On the geography of Cynouria, see Philippon and Kirsten, *Griechischen Landschaften*, III, Pt. 2, 480-88; Israel Walker, *Kynouria: Its History in the Light of Existing Remains* (Williamsport, Pa., 1936), refers to the archaeological remains found in the area. K. A. Rhomaios, "Κυνουρία καὶ Κυνουρίοι," *Peloponnesiaika*, I (1956), 1-22, discusses the topography, the area inhabited by the Cynourians, and the origin of the name.

direction of Argos, if successful, would have resulted in the establishment of Spartan power on the eastern as well as the southern borders of Tegea. In short, Spartan control of Cynouria was a matter that concerned the Tegeans every bit as much as it concerned the Argives, and it is not likely that they would have watched passively while the Spartans moved into and secured control over this area. In this connection there is yet one further observation to be made. While it was possible to go from Sparta to Argos or from Argos to Sparta directly over the mountains lying between these two cities by any one of several possible routes, this was a difficult journey. The most frequently used route was more circuitous, but was much easier to traverse. It led north from Sparta on the road toward Tegea. At a point in Tegean territory not far from the city this road joined another that ran from Argos to Tegea, and it was then an easy matter to proceed along this road through Cynouria and Thyrea into the Argive Plain and on to the city of Argos.<sup>36</sup> This route did, however, have one serious disadvantage: it could only be employed if the Tegeans were willing to allow passage through their territory or if they were powerless to prevent it. Indeed, a quick glance at a map of the Peloponnesus suggests that Tegea, because of its geographical location, was destined to come into conflict with either Sparta or Argos before they could come into conflict with one another. A proper appreciation of this leads inevitably to the conclusion that prior to the time of the Spartan conquest of Tegea there was little or no possibility of a direct confrontation between Argos and Sparta. Only after the Spartans had conquered Tegea were they in any position to move into Cynouria, and only then could they have come into conflict with Argos. Herodotus implies that events proceeded in precisely this order, and there is no reason to doubt him. Indeed, in the early part of the fifth century we know that Argos' freedom of action even within the Argive Plain was directly linked to Tegea's relations with Sparta;<sup>37</sup> it is not likely that the situation differed materially at an earlier date.

The archaeological evidence must be considered against this background. Although there is no archaeological evidence from either Argos or Sparta that might provide any concrete information regarding the relations between these two states in the period prior to about 550 B.C.,<sup>38</sup> there is some interesting evi-

<sup>36</sup> On the routes between Argos and Sparta, see James G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (6 vols., 2d ed., London, 1913), III, 305-309, where he also summarizes earlier views on the subject. An especially useful older work is William Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XV (1895), 25-89, esp. 52-66, 78-80; see also Philippson and Kirsten, *Griechischen Landschaften*, III, Pt. 2, 467, 471.

<sup>37</sup> Shortly after the Persian War, the Spartans fought and defeated a combined Tegean-Argive force (Herodotus 9.35), and according to Strabo 8.6.19 (377), Tegean forces helped the Argives capture and destroy Mycenae a few years later. On the relations among Sparta, Tegea, and Argos in this period, see Roderick T. Williams, *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century* (New York, 1965), 4-26; and Antony Andrewes, "Sparta and Arcadia in the Early Fifth Century," *Phoenix*, VI (No. 1, 1952), 1-5. It is worth noting too that in 421, when the Argives were attempting to create a league of states that could act independently of both Athens and Sparta, they fully realized the importance of enticing Tegea into this alliance. (Thucydides 5.32.3-4.)

<sup>38</sup> Courbin (*Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 502-505) argues that Argive Geometric pottery had a strong influence on Laconian Geometric pottery, but he notes (p. 550) that it was never im-

dence from Tegea.<sup>39</sup> In the latter half of the eighth century Tegea developed its own distinctive style of Geometric pottery, a style heavily indebted to the Geometric pottery of Argos. In fact, so similar were the two styles that even experts have difficulty distinguishing between them. In this same period significant quantities of Argive pottery were also imported at Tegea, and on occasion Tegean potters consciously sought to imitate Argive works.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, Spartan influence on Tegean Geometric pottery is barely noticeable, and there was no significant importation of Laconian wares into the city.<sup>41</sup> Tegea apparently had much closer and more frequent contact with Argos than with Sparta in the latter half of the eighth century.

The archaeological evidence from the seventh and early part of the sixth centuries is perhaps less decisive, but it is equally suggestive. Unfortunately, after the late eighth century both Tegean and Argive potters found it increasingly difficult to compete with their Corinthian counterparts, and both cities began to import sizable quantities of Corinthian-made wares.<sup>42</sup> It is not possible, therefore, to speak of Argive influence on seventh-century Tegean pottery, but there is other evidence to suggest that contact between Argos and Tegea was much stronger than contact between Tegea and Sparta throughout this period. Tegean terra-cotta figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries must be classed as stylistically distinct, but they are so similar to contemporary styles at Argos that they have been described as "fundamentally Argive." By the early part of the sixth century Corinthian influence can be seen in these Tegean terra-cottas. In contrast, no Spartan influence is noticeable either in the seventh or early part of the sixth centuries, though on rare occasion Spartan terra-cottas were imported into the city.<sup>43</sup> During this same period the Spartans manufactured a fine quality

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ported at Sparta. On Spartan Geometric pottery, see the discussion of John P. Droop, in Richard M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London, 1929), 55-66; and E. A. Lane, "Lakonian Vase-Painting," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXIV (1933-34), 101-15; Lane notes (pp. 122-123, 174, n. 4) several sherds of seventh- and sixth-century Spartan pottery that have been found at Argos. Olga Alexandri, "Une broche dédalique laconienne," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXXVIII (No. 1, 1964), 525-30, discusses a lead brooch of Spartan origin found at the Argive Heraeum.

<sup>39</sup> The most recent attempt to utilize this archaeological evidence for historical purposes is Josef Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Prague, 1961), 99-108, where a full bibliography of the pertinent publications will be found. Although his discussion of the archaeological material is generally sound, it is not always possible to agree with the historical conclusions drawn from it.

<sup>40</sup> Tegean Geometric pottery is discussed by Charles Dugas, "Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XLV (1921), 404-15. On the similarity between Tegean and Argive Geometric pottery, see Courbin, *Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 500-502, 549-50, including n. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Lane, "Lakonian Vase-Painting," 105, 111; Dugas, "Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée," 404, 419.

<sup>42</sup> On proto-Corinthian and Corinthian vases found at Tegea, see *ibid.*, 419-22; at Argos, see Courbin, *Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 27-30.

<sup>43</sup> On Laconian terra-cottas, see Romilly J. H. Jenkins, "Lakonian Terracottas of the Dedalic Style," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXIII (1932-33), 66-79, who notes two Spartan terra-cottas found at Tegea. On the similarity between Tegean and Argive terra-cottas, see *id.*, "Archaic Argive Terracotta Figurines to 525 B.C.," *ibid.*, XXXII (1931-32), 23-40; see also Reynold A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities British Museum* (London, 1954), 272-76.

pottery<sup>44</sup> which was widely exported. Often it was shipped as far away as Samos and Africa, but it was not, oddly enough, exported to nearby Tegea.<sup>45</sup>

Limited as the archaeological evidence may be, it does suggest a few general conclusions. While it is not possible to state categorically that continuous commercial contact was maintained between Argos and Tegea from the late eighth to the early sixth century, the evidence clearly indicates that there was considerable contact between the two cities throughout the period. This presupposes that there was freedom of movement between them, and such movement could only have been through Cynouria. At the same time it is equally clear that there was little contact between Sparta and Tegea. When this evidence is considered in conjunction with the geographical features of the eastern Peloponnesus, the general development of early Greek history, and the testimony of Herodotus, there would seem to be no possibility that Sparta and Argos were always enemies. It is possible that they did from time to time engage in a certain amount of small-scale, limited warfare at an early date, but it was only after the Spartans had defeated the Tegeans in the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston that the way was prepared for a direct military confrontation between Argos and Sparta.

We must recognize, in addition, that Sparta's victory over Tegea was accompanied by what has been termed a revolution in Spartan foreign policy. We know from Aristotle that the two states concluded an alliance at this time;<sup>46</sup> in the decades immediately following, similar alliances were concluded with a number of Peloponnesian states. As a result the Peloponnesian League had come into being probably before the end of the sixth century.<sup>47</sup> Even as this was occurring, however, Sparta's conflict with Argos began, and it is possible that events at Athens were a contributing factor. Peisistratus employed Argive mercenaries in establishing his tyranny, and he had also taken an Argive wife.<sup>48</sup> The prospect of close cooperation between Athens and Argos must have been a matter of great

<sup>44</sup> Spartan pottery from the seventh and sixth centuries is discussed by Lane, "Lakonian Vase-Painting," 107-77, but his chronology must now be revised in the light of John Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and Chronology," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, LVIII (1963), 1-7.

<sup>45</sup> On the distribution of Spartan pottery, see Lane, "Lakonian Vase-Painting," 178-85, who knew of only one seventh-century crater at Tegea, and especially Robert M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (Chicago, 1960), 93-99. John Boardman and John Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965: The Archaic Deposits I* (Oxford, Eng., 1966), 81-95, catalogue a significant amount recently discovered at Tocra.

<sup>46</sup> Valentin Rose, *Aristoteles Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1886) (Aristotle, frag. 592); cf. Hermann Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* (Munich, 1962), No. 112; see also Felix Jacoby, "XPHTOYΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ (Aristotle fr. 592R)," *Classical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (Nos. 1-2, 1944), 15-16. On the revolution in foreign policy, see Guy Dickens, "The Growth of Spartan Policy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXII (1912), 1-46, esp. 21-26.

<sup>47</sup> On the origin of the Peloponnesian League, see Jakob A. O. Larsen, "Sparta and the Ionian Revolt: A Study of Spartan Foreign Policy and the Genesis of the Peloponnesian League," *Classical Philology*, XXVII (No. 2, 1932), 136-50; and Luigi Moretti, *Ricerche sulle leghe greche* (Rome, 1962), 5-81.

<sup>48</sup> Peisistratus' use of Argive mercenaries is mentioned by Herodotus 1.61. On his Argive wife, Timonassa, see Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 17.4. On the chronological problems involved in Peisistratus' reign, see Mabel Lang, "The Chronology of Peisistratus," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXV (No. 1, 1954), 59-73.



concern to the Spartans, and it is perhaps no coincidence that Peisistratus became tyrant at Athens at approximately the same time that Sparta invaded Cynouria and defeated the Argives in the full-scale campaign that followed the inconclusive Battle of Champions. This battle occurred shortly after Sparta's defeat of Tegea; the Spartan victory reduced Argos to a second-rate power and assured Spartan predominance in the Peloponnesus. If the full implications were not immediately obvious, they became so a generation later when Cleomenes was able to march his army into the heart of the Argive Plain.<sup>49</sup> What is more important, however, is that from the time of the Battle of Champions onward there can be no doubt that there was much hostility between Sparta and Argos. The Argives used this hostility as an excuse to remain neutral in the Persian Wars, and from at least the latter part of the fifth century to the conquest of Greece by Philip of Macedon, the recovery of Cynouria became one of the chief aims of Argive foreign policy.<sup>50</sup> It is against this background that all later reports of Argive-Spartan enmity must be considered, and when one views it against this background and the political and historical context in which each of these reports was written, there can be no doubt that later writers knew little or nothing about early Spartan-Argive relations. These writers are guilty, among other things, of reading the present into the past, and in these later works one can see quite clearly the birth and subsequent development of the myth that Argos and Sparta were bitterly hostile toward one another throughout the course of Greek history.

A number of fourth-century figures need be considered only briefly here. Isocrates and Demosthenes knew of warfare between the two states in the fourth century,<sup>51</sup> and Isocrates also knew of the Battle of Champions, but neither tells us of any earlier conflict between them. We do not find anything of value in the remaining fragments of Theopompus either. He did know, however, that the Spartans had allowed the inhabitants of Asine to settle in Messenia after they had been expelled from the Argolid by the Argives,<sup>52</sup> and if more of his work had

<sup>49</sup> On Cleomenes' invasion of the Argive Plain, see Herodotus 6.76–82. Much has been written on this battle and its consequences for Argos. (See Franz Kiechle, "Argos und Tiryns nach der Schlacht bei Sepeia," *Philologus*, CIV [Nos. 3–4, 1960], 181–200; and R. F. Willetts, "The Servile Interregnum at Argos," *Hermes*, LXXXVII [No. 4, 1959], 495–506.)

<sup>50</sup> On Argive concern over Cynouria in the fifth century, see Thucydides 5.14.4, esp. 5.41.1–3. Polybius 9.28.7, 18.14.7, and Pausanias 2.20.1, 7.11.2, refer to territorial disputes that Philip of Macedon settled in favor of the Argives; cf. Markellos T. Mitsos, *Πολιτική Ίστορία του Ἀργαίου ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 146 Π.Χ.* (Athens, 1945), 53.

<sup>51</sup> The pertinent passages of Isocrates are *Panathenaicus* 42, 46, 159; *Archidamus* 99. C. Bradford Welles, "Isocrates' View of History," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. Luitpold Wallach (Ithaca, N. Y., 1966), 3–25, notes (p. 16) that Isocrates does not refer to events that took place prior to the sixth century. Demosthenes (*For the Liberty of the Rhodians*, 22–23) makes a vague statement to the effect that Argos had been invaded by the Spartans many times.

<sup>52</sup> Theopompus, *FGrH*, 115 F 383; cf. Strabo 8.6.11 (373) where the text is corrupt. According to *FGrH*, 115 T 148, Theopompus composed a work on Sparta, but it has not survived. W. Robert Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens* (Washington, D. C., 1968), 121–24, notes the extent to which Theopompus' writings were influenced by the period in which he lived. On Theopompus and

survived we might find that he knew of specific instances of warfare between the two states at an early date. Brief but important notices in the works of Xenophon and Plato show that both men were convinced that Argos and Sparta had been enemies for a long time. While Xenophon is not specific as to when they might initially have become enemies,<sup>53</sup> Plato traces their mutual hostility to the settlement of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus.<sup>54</sup>

In the creation of the canonical picture of Argive-Spartan enmity that has come down to us from antiquity, Ephorus holds a special place. It may, in fact, be no overstatement to say that he, more than any other ancient author, was ultimately responsible for the way in which we today view the early relations between these two states. In attempting to determine Ephorus' views on the subject we are severely hampered by the fragmentary condition of his work, but enough remains to give us our first concrete reference to warfare between Argos and Sparta at an early date and also some idea of Ephorus' treatment of early Peloponnesian history generally. He tells us, specifically, that Pheidon marched to Olympia and secured control of the games there; in response to this an alliance was concluded between Sparta and Elis. Together they defeated Pheidon and the Argives. It is important to note that Ephorus dated Pheidon tenth in descent from Temenus, that is, about the middle of the eighth century. This passage constitutes, therefore, the first specific notice of a direct, hostile confrontation between the two states earlier than the Battle of Champions. A second specific reference comes from a passage of Diodorus thought to have been derived from Ephorus. It concerns a war between the two states in the reign of Meltas, grandson of Pheidon. This war, though won by the Argives, led, at least indirectly, to the deposition of Meltas and hence to the end of the Temenid line of kings at Argos.<sup>55</sup>

Antony Andrewes, who examined these passages in a different context, has drawn attention to what must be regarded as the most striking aspect of Ephorus' section on early Peloponnesian history: that it did not contain a detailed account of the Messenian wars. These wars were, in fact, apparently not even mentioned in this portion of his work; only after Ephorus had carried his narrative down to the refounding of Messenia in 369 B.C. did he give a brief synopsis of the wars between Sparta and Messenia.<sup>56</sup> In other words, Ephorus relegated the Messenian

Sparta, see François Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate. II, Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'antiquité grecque du début de l'école cynique jusqu'à la fin de la cité* (2 vols., Paris, 1933-43), 63-66; and Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 222-25.

<sup>53</sup> In *Hellenica* 3.5.11 Xenophon attributes the following rhetorical question to Theban ambassadors who went to Athens seeking an alliance in 395. "Have not the Argives been hostile to them [the Spartans] from all time?" The phrase translated here as "from all time" reads in Greek ἀεὶ ποτε.

<sup>54</sup> Plato *Laws* 3.685a-686b.

<sup>55</sup> Ephorus, *FGH*, 70 F 115; Diodorus 7.13.2.

<sup>56</sup> Antony Andrewes, "Ephoros Book I and the Kings of Argos," *Classical Quarterly*, XLV (Nos. 1-2, 1951), 39-45. Kiechle (*Messenische Studien*, 19-23), although he differs with respect to details, basically agrees with Andrewes' view that Argive-Spartan enmity was the central theme of Ephorus' book on early Peloponnesian history. Robert F. Drews, "Ephorus and History Written κατά

wars to an insignificant corner of early Peloponnesian history, and, for him, the central theme around which the early history of the Peloponnesus revolved was the bitter hostility between Argos and Sparta. Andrewes believed that Ephorus' statements about these wars between Sparta and Argos may have rested on sound historical tradition. While this is certainly possible, we must not forget that although Ephorus was widely read and cited in antiquity, modern scholarship has not been kind to him. It is acknowledged that his bad qualities as a historian outweigh his good qualities. His penchant for moralizing, his pro-Athenian sympathies, and his anti-Spartan tendencies all detract from his work. While he often used the best possible sources available to him, he seems just as frequently to have relied upon works that had little or no historical value.<sup>57</sup>

Most discussions of Ephorus pay far too little attention to the age in which he lived and wrote; his ideas about early Peloponnesian history can only be properly understood when he is considered in his political and intellectual context. We must also keep in mind that he was attempting to write a universal history. Ephorus, like all later Greek historians, was the intellectual heir of Herodotus and Thucydides, and his two great predecessors seem to have exercised a subtle influence on him. Herodotus had drawn a graphic picture of the clash of two different civilizations; Thucydides picked up where Herodotus left off and coolly laid out the events that split the Greek world into two different camps: Athens and its empire and Sparta and its allies.<sup>58</sup> Even as Ephorus lived and wrote, Isocrates could see only two choices for Greece, political unity and peace or continued disunity and constant war,<sup>59</sup> and Demosthenes gave the Greeks a choice between accepting Athenian domination and freedom or giving up their freedom to the Macedonian barbarians. To be sure, neither the Greek world nor Greek history was ever so neatly divided into two distinct, mutually exclusive camps as the historians and orators of the fifth and fourth centuries believed. Such views are patent oversimplifications and overgeneralizations—the very ingredients of which universal history is made.<sup>60</sup>

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γένος," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXXIV (No. 3, 1963), 244–55, discusses Ephorus' method of constructing each book around a central theme.

<sup>57</sup> On Ephorus, see Godfrey L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1935); Richard Laqueur, "Ephoros," *Hermes*, XLVI (1911), 161–206, 321–54; Eduard Schwartz, "Ephoros," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1919), cols. 1–16; and Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 206–22, and the accompanying notes where a full bibliography will be found.

<sup>58</sup> The polarity that developed in fifth-century Greece has been analyzed by Peter J. Fliess, *Thucydides and the Politics of Bipolarity* (Baton Rouge, La., 1966), who notes that, among other things, it also influenced psychological and intellectual attitudes. Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge, Eng., 1966), 15–171, has recently discussed the importance of the polar argument in Greek philosophical thought in the period being considered here.

<sup>59</sup> Isocrates' political views have been examined by Georges Mathieu, *Les idées politiques d'Isocrate* (Paris, 1925), and more recently by Klaus Bringmann, *Studien zu den politischen Ideen des Isokrates* (Göttingen, 1965); see also Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 179–202, and the accompanying notes for further bibliography. Toward the end of his life, of course, Isocrates began to think in terms of a united Greece against the Persians. Isocrates' influence on Ephorus is discussed by Barber (*Historian Ephorus*, 75–83).

<sup>60</sup> On Ephorus and the writing of universal history, see Schwartz, "Ephoros," 6–9.



By the time Ephorus lived and wrote in the fourth century, approximately two hundred years had passed since the Spartans had defeated the Argives in the Battle of Champions, and in this period the two states had fought on several occasions. Indeed, in the years between the Battles of Leuctra and Chaeronea, that is, precisely when Ephorus was gathering information and actually writing his history, Greece was in an almost constant state of turmoil and war. In these wars the Argives and Spartans were always on opposite sides.<sup>61</sup> The extent to which Ephorus' ideas about early Peloponnesian history were influenced by events of his own day is not easy to determine,<sup>62</sup> but it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, for either Ephorus or his contemporaries to conceive of a time when Sparta and Argos had not been bitter enemies. Once he had accepted this generalization it was but a short step to turn it into the motive force behind all early Peloponnesian history. As such, it was a handy device that could be used to explain many dimly known and vaguely remembered events, an early alliance between Sparta and Elis, for example. Ephorus was aware that in his day, and for some time past, Sparta and Elis had not been on the best of terms. He also knew from Herodotus that Pheidon had interfered in the games at Olympia; it is, therefore, easy to see how, for him, Pheidon's expedition to Olympia might have become the cause of a Spartan-Elean alliance.<sup>63</sup>

There is, to be sure, no conclusive proof that events did not occur substantially as Ephorus tells us they did. There may well have been a war between Sparta and Argos in the time of Pheidon and again two generations later when his grandson, Meltas, was deposed as the last king of Argos. In this connection, however, it is important to remember that while Herodotus believed that Pheidon lived only in the late seventh or early sixth century, Ephorus was convinced that he lived about the middle of the eighth century.<sup>64</sup> The problem of dating Pheidon's reign will be discussed more fully below; it need only be noted here that he could not possibly have lived as early as Ephorus believed. Even if there was a war between Sparta and Argos during the time of Pheidon, the war must have occurred long after the middle of the eighth century, and Ephorus' belief that Argos and Sparta were enemies as early as that date is unsubstantiated.

Indeed, the difficulty that Ephorus and other fourth-century scholars experienced in dating Pheidon appears to be the source of their mistaken notion that Argive-Spartan enmity extended much farther back in time than was actually

<sup>61</sup> The ancient evidence for these wars is found largely in Xenophon *Hellenica* and Diodorus, Bks. xvi-xx. Full accounts of Spartan and Argive participation in them are given by Mitsos, *Πολιτική Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀργεῖος*, 41-53; Jones, *Sparta*, 138-50; and Carl A. Roebuck, *A History of Messenia from 369-146 B.C.* (Chicago, 1941), 27-57.

<sup>62</sup> Barber (*Historian Ephorus*, 156) has stated that Ephorus' "superficial judgement" led him to transfer into earlier periods beliefs and ideas of his own times; see also Jacoby, *FGrH*, IIC, 24-25.

<sup>63</sup> It is worth noting that there was even in antiquity another explanation for this Spartan-Elean alliance. Apollodorus (*FGrH*, 244 F 344; cf. Strabo 8.3.30 [355]), believed that Sparta cooperated with the Eleans in a war against the Pisatans in return for aid they had received from Elis in a war against the Messenians. (Cf. Andrewes, "Ephoros Book I and the Kings of Argos," 43.)

<sup>64</sup> Herodotus 6.127; Ephorus, *FGrH*, 70 F 115; cf. Strabo 8.3.33 (358), who dated Pheidon tenth in descent from Temenus.

the case. Both Aristotle and Theopompus, contemporaries of Ephorus, also believed that Pheidon lived at an early date. While Aristotle does not date Pheidon precisely, he does include him among the earliest group of Greek tyrants. Theopompus, however, placed Pheidon seventh in descent from Temenus, that is, even three generations earlier than Ephorus had dated him.<sup>65</sup> These fourth-century writers were, in short, convinced that Pheidon lived prior to the First Messenian War. They knew from Herodotus that Pheidon had marched to Olympia, and it would have been impossible for them to imagine a supposedly aggressive Argive tyrant marching across the entire breadth of the Peloponnesus without somehow stirring the Spartans to action. It is not surprising, therefore, that these writers firmly believed that Argive-Spartan enmity antedated Spartan-Messenian enmity; they really had no other choice. This is precisely what Ephorus believed, and, while we have no sure indication of Theopompus' views on the early Argive-Spartan relations, we do know that Aristotle believed that Sparta and Argos had gone to war at least prior to the Second Messenian War.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, the notion that Argos and Sparta were enemies throughout the course of Greek history appears to be, in the main, a creation of fourth-century scholars. The fact that Argos and Sparta did engage in extensive warfare in this period no doubt contributed to the belief that the two states had always been hostile toward one another. The sincere but mistaken belief of fourth-century scholars that Pheidon lived prior to the Messenian wars, moreover, compelled them to place the origin of Spartan-Argive enmity prior to Sparta's wars with Messenia.

It is unfortunate that fourth-century figures such as Ephorus and Aristotle represent only the beginning of the myth of Argive-Spartan enmity, not its culmination. Subsequent generations kept the myth alive and from time to time added to it. Nothing is more illustrative of this than the different role that later authors assigned to Argos in the Messenian wars. There is no need to become involved here in the many vexing problems surrounding these wars. A number of scholars have examined at length the ancient literary evidence for them, and, while they do not always agree on specific details, they are almost unanimous in their conclusion that little if anything is known about the actual course of either the First or Second Messenian War.<sup>67</sup> Lionel Pearson, who has most recently examined the literary evidence, has concluded that the ancient accounts of these wars are not really history at all, but pseudo-history, created or invented after

<sup>65</sup> Theopompus, *FGrH*, 115 F 393; Aristotle *Politics* 1310b, where Pheidon is classed among those tyrants who were originally kings.

<sup>66</sup> See *ibid.*, 1270a, where in speaking about the freedom of Spartan women, Aristotle says that it came about for good reason, "for the Spartans used to be away in exile abroad for long periods on account of their military expeditions, both when fighting the war against the Argives and again during the war against the Arcadians and Messenians." (Trans. H. Rackham [Loeb Classical Library ed., London, 1932].)

<sup>67</sup> Jacoby's treatment in *FGrH*, IIIA, 112-81, is basic, but see also Eduard Schwartz, "Die messenische Geschichte bei Pausanias," *Philologus*, XCII (1937), 19-46; and Lionel Pearson, "The Pseudo-History of Messenia and Its Authors," *Historia*, XI (No. 4, 1962), 397-426. Not all scholars, it

the founding of Messenia by Epaminondas in 369, and, as he notes, the presumed allies in these wars are strongly reminiscent of the allies and alliances that prevailed in Greece in the fourth century B.C.<sup>68</sup>

Most of our evidence for the Messenian wars comes only from later authors; in fact, we hear little about them prior to the fourth century B.C.<sup>69</sup> As noted above, Ephorus relegated them to an insignificant corner of Peloponnesian history, and, by so doing, he separated the wars from Sparta's supposed conflicts with Argos. Apparently he had no idea that the Argives had aided the Messenians in either of the wars. Apart from Aristotle, who refers briefly to the Second Messenian War,<sup>70</sup> Callisthenes is the only other fourth-century writer to provide any information about the troubles between Sparta and Messenia. Many scholars believe that Ephorus' account of early Messenian history was derived from Callisthenes' *Hellenikā*. Only a few fragments of this work have survived, and none of these enlightens us as to Callisthenes' views on the First Messenian War. There is some information on his account of the Second Messenian War. The evidence suggests that he also treated this war as a separate entity without any reference to Argos. Callisthenes gives us most of the principal elements that are found in all later accounts of this war. He mentions Aristomenes, the Messenian hero of the war; the Battle of the Great Trench; an alliance between the Arcadians and Messenians; and the treachery of Aristocrates and the Arcadians. Callisthenes, like Ephorus and Aristotle, does not, however, tell us that the Argives took part in this war, and it seems safe to conclude that fourth-century historians did not regard the Messenian wars as Pan-Peloponnesian conflicts, but rather as essentially local altercations between Sparta and Messenia, with the Arcadians assisting the latter at least in the second war.<sup>71</sup>

This contrasts sharply with the picture of the Messenian wars that emerges

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should be noted, consider the ancient evidence worthless; among those who have attempted to extract history from the ancient accounts, see Thomas Lenschau, "Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte im VII. und VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. II: Die messenische Kriege," *Philologus*, XCI (1936), 289-307, who argues that Pausanias derived his information ultimately from Callisthenes and that it has, therefore, a sound basis in factual history; two works of Jürgen Kroymann, *Sparta und Messenien: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der messenischen Kriege* (Berlin, 1937), and *Pausanias und Rhianus* (Berlin, 1943); and, most recently, Kiechle, *Messenische Studien*.

<sup>68</sup> Pearson, "Pseudo-History of Messenia," 397-426, who also gives a good summary of modern views on the value of the ancient evidence for the wars.

<sup>69</sup> Tyrtaeus is, of course, the chief early source, but see also Herodotus 3.47, 5.49.

<sup>70</sup> Aristotle *Politics* 1270a, quoted in note 66, above, where he does not mention the war by name, but seems clearly to have the Second Messenian War in mind.

<sup>71</sup> I have here largely followed the reconstruction of Andrewes ("Ephorus Book I and the Kings of Argos," 42-45), who points out that Ephorus did not, apparently, treat the Messenian wars in his chapter on early Peloponnesian history, but rather in a summary of Messenian history inserted into a later book of his work. Kiechle (*Messenische Studien*, 19-31) basically, though not entirely, agrees with Andrewes. The pertinent fragments of Callisthenes are *FGrH*, 124 F 23, 24. The text of an inscription supposedly set up in Messenia during the course of the second war is preserved in F 23, but as Frank W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1957-67), I, 480-81, points out, it can hardly be as old as the seventh century. Walbank believes, as does Eduard Schwartz, "Tyrtaeos," *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), 427-68, esp. 447-48, that it is a much later epigram. On Callisthenes generally, see Felix Jacoby, "Kallisthenes," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1919), cols. 1674-1707; and Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 225-26, 510.

from works written in the third and second centuries B.C. Three men are of special importance here, Myron of Priene, Rhianus of Bene, and Apollodorus. We do not know much about any of these figures; even the time each lived is not firmly fixed, though Myron and Rhianus appear to belong to the third century and Apollodorus more surely to the second. While their works have not come down to us, we can get a good idea of their treatment of the wars between Sparta and Messenia from later writers, especially Pausanias and Strabo. What is more important is that we can see how the notion of eternal Argive-Spartan enmity received further embellishment in these two centuries.

Pausanias' account of the First and Second Messenian Wars is more detailed than that of any other ancient author, but it is not necessary to consider most of the details here. It need only be noted that according to him, Asine, Corinth, and some Cretans helped the Spartans in the first war, while Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Argives aided the Messenians, though the Argives appear to have acted as private citizens rather than as representatives of the Argive state.<sup>72</sup> In the second war, Pausanias writes, Corinth aided Sparta while Arcadia, Argos, Sicyon, and Elis aided the Messenians, though as Eduard Schwartz has pointed out, this latter combination of allies apparently held together for one campaign only, the siege of Hira. The Argives, Sicyonians, and Eleans are noticeably absent at the Battle of the Great Trench later in the war.<sup>73</sup> Pausanias himself tells us that he relied heavily on Myron for his account of the First Messenian War and on the epic poem of Rhianus for his account of the second war. Many scholars are convinced, however, that he did not use these works directly, and even if he did we know that he certainly used others as well.<sup>74</sup> Consequently, it is perhaps impossible to determine how much of the information he gives us may have been derived directly from Myron and Rhianus, from some intermediary source, or, for that matter, even from some source entirely independent

<sup>72</sup> Pausanias' account of the First Messenian War is found in Bk. 4.7.1-4.13.7; on the various allies during the war, see esp. 4.8.3, 4.10.1, 4.11.1. On the participation of the Argives in a private capacity, see Kiechle, *Messenische Studien*, 23-24. Pearson ("Pseudo-History," 416-18) notes that Pausanias' source for this war was consciously attempting to imitate both Herodotus and Thucydides and was so under the influence of the latter that he includes a plague during the course of the war. Pausanias' account contains one additional point worthy of note; at 4.5.2 he says that at the outbreak of the war the Spartans were willing to let the Argives, of all people, arbitrate their differences with the Messenians.

<sup>73</sup> Pausanias' account of the Second Messenian War is related at 4.15.1-24.4; on the allies, see esp. 4.15.7-8. On the absence of these allies later in the war, see Schwartz, "Messenische Geschichte," 39-41. Pearson ("Pseudo-History," 418) notes that Rhianus' *Messenika*, Pausanias' chief source for this war, was largely concerned with individual personalities such as Aristomenes and Aristocrates, and, in Pearson's words, "it is not an account of the war any more than the *Iliad* is an account of the Trojan War." It has often been argued, most recently by Kiechle (*Messenische Studien*), that Rhianus was really describing events that occurred in a war between Sparta and Messenia that supposedly took place about 490 B.C., but, as Pearson has shown, this does not seem likely. On this problem, see Harold T. Wade-Gery, "The 'Rhianos-Hypothesis,'" in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg*, ed. Ernst Badian (Oxford, Eng., 1966), 280-302, where a complete bibliography to earlier literature will be found.

<sup>74</sup> Pausanias 4.6.1-2. Many writers have suggested that Pausanias knew the works of Myron and Rhianus only indirectly, but see esp. the works of Kroymann and Schwartz cited in note 67, above. On Pausanias' use of sources other than Rhianus and Myron, see Pearson, "Pseudo-History," 414-16.

of either of these writers. Yet this is not of primary importance. The essential point is that Pausanias' account of these wars differs dramatically from that given by fourth-century historians.

What Ephorus and Callisthenes regarded as essentially local conflicts, Pausanias regarded as wars involving most of the important states of the Peloponnesus, including Argos. One can only conclude that the idea that Argos had participated in the Messenian wars was a later invention that must have arisen only after Ephorus and Callisthenes had written in the fourth century, and presumably at least in part with the works of Myron and Rhianus.<sup>75</sup> In the second century and throughout the remainder of antiquity no one seems to have doubted that the Argives had been involved in the Messenian wars or that these wars had been Pan-Peloponnesian rather than local conflicts. Apollodorus, for example, believed that Arcadia, Pisa, Elis, and Argos had allied with the Messenians in the second war; his view was accepted by Strabo in the first century.<sup>76</sup> It is extremely doubtful, however, that apart from the poetry of Tyrtaeus there was any sound information to aid later writers in reconstructing events that took place in Messenia in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.,<sup>77</sup> and we must be more than a little skeptical when writers who lived in the third and second centuries profess to know much more about these wars than writers who lived a century or more earlier.

The role that these writers believed the Argives had played in the Messenian wars provides a clear and concrete illustration of the development that was taking place with respect to the whole problem of early Argive-Spartan relations in the Hellenistic period. By the third century the notion that the two states had always been enemies had become thoroughly ingrained in the Greek mind; it had behind it not only the vague authority of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, but also the specific contention of Ephorus that early Peloponnesian history revolved around the struggle between Argos and Sparta. For men who lived during the Hellenistic period, and who were conditioned to think in terms of interstate relations in their own day and age, it would have been inconceivable to assume that the Argives had remained neutral while the Spartans were locked

<sup>75</sup> This is the general conclusion of Jacoby, Schwartz, and Pearson cited in note 67, above. Kiechle (*Messenische Studien*, 23-27, 133) believes that Myron was the first ancient author to suggest that the Argives had participated in the First Messenian War, but in Chaps. vi, vii he seems to place greater faith in the historical reliability of Rhianus.

<sup>76</sup> Apollodorus, *FGrH*, 244 F 334; cf. Strabo 8.4.10 (362). Apollodorus seems to imply here that he derived his information from Tyrtaeus, but as Felix Jacoby, "Studien zu den älteren griechischen Elegikern I. Zu Tyrtaeos," *Hermes*, LIII (1918), 1-44, has shown, a number of poems were spuriously attributed to the Spartan poet after the fourth century B.C. It was undoubtedly such a poem that Apollodorus used, for Ephorus had used Tyrtaeus in the fourth century, and, if he had known of any Argive participation in the Messenian wars, he could not have separated Sparta's conflicts with Messenia from Sparta's struggles with Argos as he apparently did. Strabo 8.3.30 (355), which mentions the "descendants of Nestor" but not the Argives as allies of the Messenians, is also from Apollodorus; see Eduard Schwartz, "Apollodoros," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1894), cols. 2867-70; cf. Kiechle, *Messenische Studien*, 27. Diodorus 15.66.2-5 does not mention the Argives as participants in the Second Messenian War, but he gives only a brief summary of the wars.

<sup>77</sup> This point is well stated by Starr, "Credibility of Early Spartan History," 258-60.



in a life-and-death struggle with the Messenians. It is no surprise that these writers combined Sparta's supposed struggles with Argos and Sparta's wars with Messenia. It is entirely possible, moreover, that Hellenistic writers, especially the chronographers who worked during this period, cited other instances of warfare between Sparta and Argos at an early date. It has, for example, been suggested that both Apollodorus and the Spartan Sosibius knew about a war that was supposedly fought over Thyrea shortly after the First Messenian War.<sup>78</sup> We do not, however, have enough information to treat these instances in detail here. As we have seen above and shall see further below, much of this work done in the Hellenistic period made its way either directly or indirectly into the pages of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*.

With the exception of Pausanias, ancient writers who lived after the time of Apollodorus tell us little or nothing about the early relations between Argos and Sparta. Strabo, as noted above, does cite instances of warfare between the two states, but in every case it is possible to determine the source of his information, and the pertinent passages have already been dealt with. Diodorus also tells us of early warfare between Argos and Sparta, but as he almost surely derived his information from Ephorus, there is no need to treat him separately.<sup>79</sup> Although Plutarch was a firm believer in the proposition that the two states were bitter, long-standing enemies, he mentions no conflict between them prior to the Battle of Champions.<sup>80</sup>

Plutarch was, in the main, a careful scholar,<sup>81</sup> but the same claim cannot be made for his near contemporary, Pausanias. It is striking, yet nonetheless true, that there are more specific references to open hostility between Argos and Sparta in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* than in all the rest of the Greek literature that has survived. The influence of this work on all modern ideas concerning Argive-Spartan enmity has, therefore, been great.<sup>82</sup> Scholars do not seem to be

<sup>78</sup> Felix Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin, 1902), 129, n. 7, believes that Eusebius' report of a war between Argos and Sparta in 718 B.C. was derived from Sosibius and that the report of Solinus that the two states fought in Thyrea in 737 B.C. was derived from Apollodorus.

<sup>79</sup> Ephorus' influence on the work of Diodorus is discussed by Eduard Schwartz, "Diodoros," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1903), cols. 680-82; and Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 209-13, 491-93. Recently there have been several attempts to minimize Diodorus' reliance upon Ephorus. (See Richard Laqueur, "Diodorea," *Hermes*, LXXXVI [No. 3, 1958], 257-90; and Robert F. Drews, "Diodorus and His Sources," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXXIII [No. 4, 1962], 383-92.)

<sup>80</sup> Plutarch's dating of the Battle of Champions is in itself an excellent indication of the problems that later writers faced when attempting to reconstruct events that occurred long before their time. Herodotus 1.82 is precise in dating this battle of about the same time as the fall of Sardis; Plutarch *Moralia* 231e assigns it to the reign of the Spartan king Polydorus, whom he elsewhere (*Lycurgus* 6) suggests was a contemporary of Theopompus. Accordingly, therefore, Plutarch apparently believed that the Battle of Champions took place well back in the seventh century. On general statements on Argive-Spartan hostility, see *Moralia* 190e, 223f, 229c, 233c, 245c-f.

<sup>81</sup> Plutarch was a well-read and industrious individual, though on occasion, he apparently tried to write from memory; see generally, Carl Theander, "Plutarch und die Geschichte," *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* (No. 1, 1950-51), 1-86; Konrat Ziegler, "Plutarchos," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1951), cols. 636-962, esp. 938-40; and Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods*, 125-40. On Plutarch and Sparta, see Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate* II, 165-215.

<sup>82</sup> See, e.g., Huxley, *Early Sparta*, whose major source throughout is Pausanias.

deterred by the fact that Pausanias lived at least four hundred years after Apollodorus, seven hundred years after the Battle of Champions, and at least a thousand years after the earliest conflict he records between the two states. As we have seen, the sources he used for his account of the Messenian wars can hardly qualify as historical. The likelihood that he had better evidence on the early relations between Argos and Sparta than writers who lived centuries before him is indeed remote.<sup>83</sup> A close examination of each specific reference to hostility between Argos and Sparta prior to about the middle of the sixth century will show that they have little to recommend them either individually or collectively. As we shall see, there can be no doubt that Pausanias was absolutely convinced that the two states were mutual and bitter enemies of long standing; he was so convinced of this, in fact, that he appears to regard a state of warfare between them as the rule rather than the exception.<sup>84</sup>

In the whole of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* there are in addition to several general statements on the mutual enmity between Argos and Sparta,<sup>85</sup> fifteen specific instances of hostility between them before about 550 B.C. Only two are found in his account of Argos in Book II; seven occur in Book IV, his section on Messenia, and all but one of these refer to Argive participation in the Messenian wars. The remaining six references are in the section on Laconia in Book III. There is no need to discuss further those six notices of Argive participation in the Messenian wars; enough has already been said above to show that this idea was a later creation and that there is no evidence to prove that the Argives had been actively involved in either of these conflicts.

The six references to warfare between Sparta and Argos before about 550 B.C. that are found in Book III bear more careful scrutiny than they have heretofore received. All six are encountered in only three chapters of this book, two in Chapters II and III, where Pausanias gives a list of the Agiad kings of Sparta and their noteworthy deeds, and four in Chapter VII, where he does the same for the Eurypontid kings.<sup>86</sup> While Pausanias does not say where he got his informa-

<sup>83</sup> The historical value of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* is a subject that has not received much attention in recent years. Although various sections, such as that on Messenia, have been carefully analyzed, the work as a whole has not been. August Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget: Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen* (Berlin, 1886); and Carl Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller* (Berlin, 1909), are useful on geography and mythology but of limited value on history. Mario Segré, "Pausania come fonte storica," *Historia*, I (1927), 202-34, is useful, and Jacoby, *FGH*, IIIB, 60-62, has analyzed Pausanias' section on the Argolid and considers it of little or no historical value.

<sup>84</sup> Significant in this respect is Pausanias' brief account of the reign of the Spartan king Eurycrates at 3.3.4. It runs as follows: "During the reign of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted to be subjects of the Lacedaemonians, neither did any trouble befall from the Argive people." In other words, the fact that there was no war between Argos and Sparta in the reign of Eurycrates was, for Pausanias, an event worthy of notice. The translation of his *Description of Greece* is that of W. H. S. Jones (Loeb Classical Library ed., London, 1926).

<sup>85</sup> General statements on the mutual hostility between the two states are found in Pausanias 2.20.1-2, 4.5.2, 8.27.1.

<sup>86</sup> For the sake of convenience I list here the Spartan kings, according to Pausanias, from Agis and Eurypont to Cleomenes and Demaratus. The Agiad kings were Agis, Echestratus, Labotas, Doryssus, Agesilaus, Archelaus, Teleclus, Alcamenes, Polydorus, Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycratidas, Leon, Anaxandridas, and Cleomenes. The Eurypontid kings were Eurypont, Prytanis, Eunomus,

tion, it seems certain that the material contained in these chapters, and, hence, all six references to warfare between Sparta and Argos, were derived from a single source.<sup>87</sup> It is easy to see that this source was influenced by Thucydides, that it was synthesizing in nature, and that it was definitely pro-Spartan. Like Thucydides, Pausanias, and presumably his source, was firmly convinced that the trouble between Sparta and Argos centered around the territory of Cynouria. The pro-Spartan bias of his source is evident from the great lengths to which Pausanias goes to give the Spartans a legitimate claim to this area. Like Herodotus, Pausanias acknowledges that the Cynourians were Argive by descent, but he considered Cynouria to be Sparta's by right of conquest, and this conquest was undertaken for the noblest of ends. In the reign of Echestratus, the Spartans expelled all Cynourians of military age from the territory because, as Pausanias puts it, "the lands of their kinsmen, the Argives, were harried by freebooters from Cynouria, and the Cynourians themselves openly made raids across the border."<sup>88</sup> For Pausanias, accordingly, it was this early war by the Spartans to aid their kinsmen, the Argives, that led to their conquest of Cynouria, and this conquest gave them a legitimate claim to the territory.

In briefly noting the various kings who ruled Sparta after this initial conquest of Cynouria, Pausanias tells us that in the reign of Labotas and Prytanis, that is, a generation after Echestratus, the first war between Argos and Sparta occurred. The Argives were at fault, for they were encroaching upon Cynouria and encouraging Sparta's Perioeci there to rebel.<sup>89</sup> Two generations of peace followed this initial war, but in the reign of Charillus hostilities were renewed. Nicander, the successor to Charillus, also fought a war with Argos, and Nicander's younger contemporary, Alcamenes, is said to have destroyed Helos, defeating in the process an Argive force that was sent to aid the town. Nicander's successor, the elder contemporary of Alcamenes, Theopompus, also undertook a war against the Argives.

A number of general observations can be made about these references to warfare between Sparta and Argos in Book III. With the exception of Theopompus, who lived in the seventh century, all of the other early kings of Sparta who

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Polydectes, Charillus, Nicander, Theopompus, Archidamus, Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agesicles, Ariston, and Demaratus.

<sup>87</sup> Walter Immerwahr, *Die Lakonika des Pausanias auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (Berlin, 1889), 12-49, has argued that Pausanias' chief source for Bk. III.1.1-10.6 was Sosibius and that Pausanias derived his list of kings from that Spartan historian. Herodotus, Ephorus, Theopompus, and others were apparently used to fill in some details. Jacoby, *FGH*, III B 637, 641-42, believes it more likely, however, that Pausanias used an account written by some later writer who had employed Sosibius' work. Huxley (*Early Sparta*, 19, 101, n. 63) generally agrees with Jacoby. None of the fragments of Sosibius' work that have come down to us mention Sparta and Argos as enemies, but one fragment, *FGH*, 595 F 5 (cf. Athenaeus 15.678 B-C), relates that during a certain religious festival the Spartans carried wreaths, which they called *Thyreatikoi*, as a memorial of a victory won at Thyrea. Presumably this was the victory following the Battle of Champions in 546 B.C.

<sup>88</sup> Pausanias 3.2.3; this passage must be compared with Herodotus 8.73 and Thucydides 5.41.2.

<sup>89</sup> Pausanias 3.2.3, where the full account is given, and 3.7.2, where a brief mention is made of the same war.



supposedly fought wars with Argos lived in a period that cannot be considered historical. According to Pausanias, Nicander was the Spartan King who inaugurated the First Messenian War, and he is supposed to have fought a war with Argos that resulted in the destruction of Asine. The destruction of this small settlement in the Argolid has been dated to about 715 B.C.<sup>90</sup> on the basis of archaeological evidence. If Nicander was in fact king of Sparta when this destruction occurred, we must assign him and his coregent Alcamenes to the latter half of the eighth century. According to Pausanias, Charillus lived a generation earlier than Nicander, and Pyrtanis and Labotas lived several generations earlier than Charillus, that is, well back in the ninth century and more than a millennium before Pausanias himself. The most striking point to emerge from this section on Laconia, however, is the fact that after he informs us about a war between Sparta and Argos in the reign of Theopompus, Pausanias says nothing about any other war between the two states until he mentions the invasion of the Argive Plain by Cleomenes early in the fifth century. He does not even refer to the Battle of Champions in Book III, though he does tell us about it elsewhere.<sup>91</sup>

It is odd indeed that just when Pausanias brought his narrative down to the reign of Theopompus in the early half of the seventh century, that is, to a period that can properly be considered historical, references to warfare between Argos and Sparta cease. On the basis of this section of his work alone, one might easily conclude that Argos and Sparta settled their differences and ceased being enemies early in the seventh century. If a general consideration of these six references to warfare between Argos and Sparta raises some fundamental questions regarding their value as historical evidence, a closer examination of each individually leads to the inevitable conclusion that, as historical evidence, they are essentially worthless.

It would serve no useful purpose to become involved here in the vexing problem of the reliability of the Spartan king-lists that have come down from antiquity. The discrepancies between the list given by Pausanias and that given by Herodotus are well known; so too is their absolute irreconcilability.<sup>92</sup> It is doubtful, however, that Pausanias had any better information on the kings of Sparta than Herodotus had had centuries earlier. Indeed, even those scholars who are willing to make extensive use of Pausanias for early Spartan history

<sup>90</sup> Nicander's war with Argos is discussed *ibid.*, 2.36.4-5, and briefly mentioned at 3.7.4. See Otto Frödin and Axel W. Persson, *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-30* (Stockholm, 1939), 437, on the destruction of the site. Courbin (*Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 565, including note 6) dates the latest pottery found there later than 725 but earlier than 700 B.C.

<sup>91</sup> On Cleomenes' war with Argos, see Pausanias 3.4.5; later wars between the two states are mentioned at 3.5.8-9, 3.11.7-8; on the Battle of Champions, see 2.38.5.

<sup>92</sup> On the Spartan kings lists see Thomas Lenschau, "Agiaden und Eurypontiden: Die Königshäuser Spartas in ihren Beziehungen zueinander," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, LXXXVIII (No. 2, 1939), 123-46, esp. 123-33; Willem Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam, 1954), 65-69, 76-82; Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, 80-142; see also F. D. Harvey, "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2390 and Early Spartan History," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXXVII (1967), 62-69.

are forced to admit that the early Eurypontid monarchs he names are most likely not even historical figures. Prytanis, for example, may be nothing more than an early title for the king at Sparta; there is, in fact, little likelihood that a king by this name ever lived. We are, accordingly, not justified in believing that a war was fought with Argos when he supposedly reigned.<sup>93</sup>

While many scholars have been reluctant to accept Pausanias' report of warfare between Argos and Sparta in the ninth century as historical, they become less skeptical of the later wars he mentions. Yet, the war he assigns to the reign of Charillus surely has nothing to substantiate it. In Book III Pausanias says only that Charillus "ravaged Argive territory" and that he led an expedition against Tegea. He does not even discuss the outcome of the expedition, but Charillus is mentioned several times in Book VIII (on Arcadia) where he is associated with the Battle of the Fetters. Herodotus, it must be remembered, dated this battle to the early part of the sixth century; Pausanias, by assigning it to the reign of Charillus, dates it before the First Messenian War, or about a century and a half earlier than Herodotus.<sup>94</sup> What is even more disturbing about Pausanias' account, however, is the information he gives about this war with Tegea. It was a bitter one in which the Spartans were defeated and Charillus was taken prisoner along with many of his men. The gullibility of Pausanias in believing that the same king who had such poor success against Tegea in Book VIII could have launched an invasion against Argos, a much more powerful city located at a greater distance away from Sparta, and successfully "ravaged Argive territory" in Book III should convince us once and for all that he is not a reliable guide to early Peloponnesian history.

Pausanias' inadequacy is equally obvious in his treatment of warfare between Argos and Sparta in the reign of Nicander, son and successor of Charillus. According to Pausanias, Nicander was the Spartan king who launched the First Messenian War, though he did not live to see its successful conclusion. In addition, he was supposedly responsible for invading and ravaging Argive territory; in this campaign he enlisted the aid of the people of Asine. After the war, he says, the Argives destroyed Asine and expelled its inhabitants in retaliation for the aid they had given to Nicander. The Spartans, in turn, allowed them to establish a new Asine in Messenia.<sup>95</sup> I have discussed this particular passage of Pausanias at greater length elsewhere; it is necessary here to repeat only the conclusions I have reached previously.<sup>96</sup>

Archaeological evidence has revealed that Asine was in fact destroyed about 715 B.C., and so Pausanias' account is at least partially correct. Yet we must not

<sup>93</sup> The story of this war is given in Pausanias 3.2.3, 3.7.2. The former passage seems to be directly influenced by Thucydides 1.15.2.

<sup>94</sup> On Charillus, see Pausanias 3.7.3, 8.5.6, 8.48. ff.; cf. Herodotus 1.66.

<sup>95</sup> The full story is given in Pausanias 2.36.4-5.

<sup>96</sup> See Kelly, "Argive Destruction of Asine," 422-31, where full bibliographical references are given for the matters discussed here.

be deluded into believing that he actually knew the reasons behind this Argive action. In the latter half of the eighth century Argos was a wealthy and populous city, while Sparta was faced with serious difficulties both at home and abroad. The Spartans fought a lengthy war with their Messenian neighbors, and when the war was concluded there was serious trouble at home. This trouble was only partially alleviated by sending the malcontents to the colony of Tarentum, traditionally founded in the year 706 B.C. It is difficult to see how, in such circumstances, the Spartans would have been in any position to undertake an aggressive campaign against Argos, as Pausanias contends. Indeed, enmity between Argos and Asine, not enmity between Argos and Sparta, led to the destruction of Asine. In the last quarter of the eighth century the Argives attempted to gain greater control over the various communities within and on the fringes of the Argive Plain; this attempt brought them into conflict with the inhabitants of Asine. When opposition was encountered, the Argives responded with a military attack that destroyed the city, but allowed the inhabitants to flee. It is not at all surprising that the Spartans then permitted them to settle in Messenia, which had only recently been conquered. By befriending the people of Asine and letting them settle there, the Spartans had a potentially grateful ally who would help them retain control of this newly acquired territory.

Pausanias' contention that Nicander's coregent, Alcamenes, defeated an Argive force sent to aid the inhabitants of Helos will not survive careful scrutiny either. Even in antiquity Pausanias' version of the Spartan capture of this town on the Laconian Gulf was not universally known or accepted. According to Ephorus,<sup>97</sup> who apparently knew nothing about an Argive force sent to aid the Helians, the city came under Spartan control in the reign of King Agis who supposedly lived seven generations before Alcamenes, that is, in the tenth century B.C. It is usually assumed that Ephorus was mistaken, and he probably was, but it cannot be assumed that Pausanias must, therefore, be correct. Even if he is given the benefit of the doubt as to when Helos might have come under Spartan control, his belief that the Argives tried to prevent it by sending a force to aid the Helians does not merit serious attention. If Ephorus had known of any such force of Argives he surely would have mentioned it; that he did not may suggest that it was a later invention.<sup>98</sup> It is, moreover, easy to see how some later writer might have been led to believe that the Argives were concerned about the Spartan capture of this city. Anyone who accepted Herodotus' statement that Argos once controlled the coastal area as far south as Cape Malea would have been virtually compelled to believe that the Argives had a vested

<sup>97</sup> Pausanias 3.2.7; Ephorus, *FGrH*, 70 F 117; cf. Strabo 8.5.4 (365).

<sup>98</sup> It is entirely possible that Apollodorus was the first to state that the Argives had aided the Helians. At 3.2.7 Pausanias refers to Helos as an Achaean city, and this coupled with the fact that Helos is mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* 2.584 may indicate that Pausanias' information was derived either directly or indirectly from Apollodorus' *Commentary on the Homeric Catalogue of Ships*. On this work, see Schwartz, "Apollodoros," cols. 2863-71; on Pausanias' use of it, see Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, 156-64.

interest in defending Helos against Spartan encroachment. As we have seen above, however, Herodotus was undoubtedly mistaken, and even if Alcamenes did capture Helos in the late eighth century as Pausanias contends, it is not likely that the Argives were much concerned about it. Moreover, even if they were concerned, they would have found it difficult to aid the Helians without a navy.

There is, finally, in Pausanias' Book III one additional passage referring to warfare at an early date between Sparta and Argos. He says that in the reign of Theopompus, successor to Nicander and younger contemporary of Alcamenes, Argos and Sparta fought for control of Thyrea.<sup>99</sup> Despite the fact that Theopompus is mentioned by a number of ancient authors, Pausanias is the only one to mention a war with Argos during his reign; he seems to have derived this information from the same source that told him of warfare between the two states during the reigns of Labotas, Prytanis, Charillus, Nicander, and Alcamenes. Since the author of this work regarded a state of warfare between Argos and Sparta as natural, it would have been inconceivable for him to believe that so famous a king as Theopompus did not wage war against the Argives. Either Pausanias or his source apparently regarded the occurrence of a war between Sparta and Argos in the reign of Theopompus as more worthy of notice than the outcome of that war, for he never says who won it.

Other than the six references to warfare between Argos and Sparta during the reigns of the early kings of Sparta in Book III and the six references to Argive participation in the Messenian wars in Book IV, there are only three additional references to hostility between the two states in Pausanias' work. One of these is in Book IV and refers only indirectly to enmity between the two states; the other two are in his section on the Argolid in Book II, where we are told that there was a war between Argos and Sparta in the reign of the Spartan king Nicander and that the Argives defeated the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B.C.<sup>100</sup> The story of Nicander's supposed invasion of the Argive Plain and the resultant destruction of Asine was repeated by Pausanias in Book III and has been discussed above where reasons for rejecting the story were given.

I have tried to show elsewhere<sup>101</sup> that Pausanias' brief statement that the Argives defeated the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B.C. is inaccurate and cannot be taken seriously. Pausanias is the only ancient author who mentions this event, and he says practically nothing about the battle itself. What little he does say suggests that he apparently learned about it from his guides as he traveled along

<sup>99</sup> Pausanias 3.7.5. Harold T. Wade-Gery, "A Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaïdai," *Classical Quarterly*, XLIII (Nos. 1-2, 1949), 81, n. 2, believes that it was in this campaign that the Battle of Hysiae, referred to by Pausanias in 2.24.7, was fought.

<sup>100</sup> Nicander's war with Argos, *ibid.*, 2.36.4-5; on the Battle of Hysiae, see 2.24.7.

<sup>101</sup> See Thomas Kelly, "Did the Argives Defeat the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B.C.?" *American Journal of Philology*, forthcoming, where I have cited the evidence for the conclusions summarized here.

the road from Argos to Tegea. The likelihood that these guides actually knew much about a battle that supposedly took place eight hundred years before Pausanias passed through Hysiae is at best remote. Thucydides says that in 417 B.C. the Spartans destroyed Hysiae and killed all the freeborn male citizens of the community.<sup>102</sup> It is entirely possible that Pausanias' guides really had the campaign of 417 in mind when they informed him of a battle at the site, and no one should be surprised if these local patriots remembered a defeat that occurred more than six hundred years earlier as a brilliant Argive victory. Moreover, when Pausanias attempted to date the Battle of Hysiae he was unable to do so from an Argive source. He did, however, find an acceptable date in an Athenian source, but in so doing he may have confused a Boeotian-Athenian campaign at Boeotian Hysiae with a Spartan-Argive campaign at Argive Hysiae. There is no evidence to prove that the Argives defeated the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B.C. or, for that matter, at any other time in the seventh century.

One final passage of Pausanias should be considered. In Book IV he writes that the Nauplians were expelled from their home in the Argolid for "Spartan sympathies."<sup>103</sup> This occurred shortly after the Second Messenian War in the reign of the Argive king Damocratidas, and, like the inhabitants of Asine a century or so earlier, the Nauplians were allowed by the Spartans to settle in Messenia. There is no reason to doubt that the Nauplians were expelled from the Argive Plain or that the Spartans allowed them to settle in Messenia; nor is there absolute proof that the Argives did not expel them from the Argolid for precisely the reason that Pausanias gives. Yet his explanation must be viewed generally in the broader context of his treatment of early Peloponnesian history and particularly in his belief that Argos and Sparta had always been enemies. One need not, however, posit Argive-Spartan enmity to explain either the expulsion of the Nauplians from the Argive Plain or the Spartan willingness to allow them to settle in Messenia. It is much more likely that the reason behind the Argive destruction of Nauplia was Argive-Nauplian enmity rather than Argive-Spartan enmity, but this is perhaps easier to suggest than to prove.<sup>104</sup> Pausanias' belief that both Asine and Nauplia were destroyed by the Argives for essentially the same reason is, nonetheless, more than a little suspicious.

In summary, it should be repeated that there are more specific instances of open hostility between Argos and Sparta in Pausanias' work than in the works of all other ancient writers combined. Most references to this hostility occur, how-

<sup>102</sup> Thucydides 5.83.2; cf. Diodorus 12.81.1.

<sup>103</sup> Pausanias 4.35.2; cf. Theopompus, *FGH*, 115 F 383.

<sup>104</sup> In "Calaurian Amphictiony," 113-21, I argued that the Calaurian Amphictiony mentioned by Strabo 8.6.14 (374) was actually an anti-Pheidonian alliance. At that time, however, I accepted the conventional early seventh-century date for Pheidon. Although this date must be rejected, it is still possible and even likely that the amphictiony was an anti-Argive league. Strabo says that Nauplia was one of the original founders of this league, and if the report is true then Nauplia might well have been on poor terms with Argos at the time the league was founded, probably about the middle of the seventh century.

ever, in only four sections of his whole work, and most of them pertain to a very early period that cannot even be considered historical and that was at least eight or nine hundred years before Pausanias himself lived and wrote. His sources, in so far as they can be determined, were clearly late and of a synthesizing nature, and he was obviously influenced by his conviction that Argos and Sparta had been enemies throughout the course of Greek history. Each of his specific references to open hostility between the two states cannot, admittedly, be disproven, but, since many of them are known only from his work, they cannot be verified either, and in any case suspicion can be cast on all of them. One can only conclude that Pausanias is a poor guide to the early relations between Argos and Sparta; the fact that writers who wrote even later than Pausanias shared his views on the subject is irrelevant.<sup>105</sup> Pausanias did not, of course, invent the idea that the two states had always been bitter enemies. By the time he lived this idea had existed for centuries and had the authority of numerous scholars behind it. Yet it seems obvious that Pausanias did not merely accept an erroneous belief; he embellished it significantly. It may, indeed, be no exaggeration to say that for Pausanias, Argive-Spartan enmity assumed the role of a *deus ex machina* in early Peloponnesian history. It was a simple device by which to account for otherwise unexplainable phenomena as, for example, the destruction of Asine and Nauplia. The result was a seriously distorted picture of early Peloponnesian history that Herodotus would probably have considered peculiar.

This survey of the ancient literary evidence pertaining to Argive-Spartan enmity leads inescapably to one all-important observation: the later the writer the more he professes to know about early warfare between the two states. Writers who lived prior to Ephorus mention no instance of warfare between Sparta and Argos prior to the Battle of Champions about the middle of the sixth century. Several fourth-century writers, notably Xenophon and Plato, make general statements to the effect that the two states had always been enemies, but only Ephorus gives a specific instance of warfare between Argos and Sparta prior to the Battle of Champions: he says that the two states fought a war during the time of Pheidon, whom he dates about the middle of the eighth century. Writers who lived after the fourth century believed that the Argives had participated in the First and Second Messenian Wars, and Pausanias mentions other wars that the two states supposedly waged. Most of the wars that later writers describe, however, were supposedly fought in a period that was essentially unhistorical in the sense that there were few if any written records upon which these later writers

<sup>105</sup> As mentioned in note 78, above, Eusebius and Solinus record a war between Argos and Sparta that supposedly occurred in the late eighth century; they may have derived their information from earlier writers. Wade-Gery, "Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaideiai," 79-81, notes that Jerome's version of Eusebius dates the origin of a Spartan festival to the year 668 and that Syncellus identifies this festival as the *gymnopaideia*. Wade-Gery also believes that the festival was founded as a remembrance of the supposed defeat of Sparta by the Argives at Hysiae in 669 B.C. Den Boer (*Laconian Studies*, 221-27) has rejected this idea on religious grounds.



could rely.<sup>106</sup> Thucydides, while not above delivering sweeping generalizations on early Greek history, says that he "found it impossible, because of its remoteness in time, to acquire a really precise knowledge of the distant past or even of the history preceding our own period. . . ."<sup>107</sup> If reconstructing events of the distant past or even of the relatively recent past was too awesome a task for Thucydides, can one really believe that Ephorus, Aristotle, and least of all such men as Myron, Rhianus, and Pausanias could have succeeded in that task? To answer this question one need only remember the problems that fourth-century scholars faced in dating Pheidon. That Ephorus placed him tenth in descent from Temenus, while Ephorus' contemporary, Theopompus, dated him seventh in descent from Temenus demonstrates that these men had no reliable evidence on which to depend.<sup>108</sup> In the final analysis Herodotus must be considered the most trustworthy guide to early Spartan-Argive relations. While it is entirely possible that there was warfare between the two states prior to the Battle of Champions—the earliest specific instance of Spartan-Argive hostility that Herodotus records—there is good reason to accept his belief that Spartan-Argive enmity originated at a later date than Spartan-Tegean enmity. It was only in the late seventh and early sixth centuries that Sparta undertook to conquer Tegea, and it must not be forgotten that Herodotus dated Pheidon to precisely this period.<sup>109</sup>

The ancient evidence for dating Pheidon has been reviewed many times;<sup>110</sup> there is no need to do so once again here. Herodotus' date has not, in general, been favorably received by modern scholars; nor has the ninth-century date suggested by Theopompus and the *Marmor Parium*. While the mid-eighth-century date suggested by Ephorus and Pausanias was popular in the nineteenth century, only a handful of scholars accept it today.<sup>111</sup> Any attempt to date Pheidon so early,

<sup>106</sup> Felix Jacoby, *Athis: The Local Chronicles of Athens* (Oxford, Eng., 1949), has argued forcefully that there were no written records even at Athens prior to the fifth century; Chester G. Starr, *The Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit* (New York, 1968), has recently argued that only in the fifth century were all the necessary ingredients for the writing of history present.

<sup>107</sup> Thucydides 1.1.3, tr. Rex Warner (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1962).

<sup>108</sup> There is no way of knowing how Theopompus and Ephorus arrived at their respective dates for Pheidon. At least one of them, however, may have been indebted either directly or indirectly to Hellanicus' work on the priestesses of Hera. What little we know of this work suggests that it was of little historical value for the early period. Archaeological excavation has shown that the Argive Heraeum was constructed only about the middle of the eighth century (Courbin, *Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 565, including n. 3), but we know that Hellanicus carried the list of priestesses back at least three generations before the Trojan War (cf. *FGH*, 4 F 79a and 79b). It is also worth noting that Thucydides 1.97.2 criticizes Hellanicus' dating of events in the *Pentecontaetia*.

<sup>109</sup> Herodotus 6.127.

<sup>110</sup> Antony Andrewes, "The Corinthian Acteon and Pheidon of Argos," *Classical Quarterly*, XLIII (Nos. 1-2, 1949), 70-78; Den Boer, *Laconian Studies*, 55-64; and Édouard Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955), 346-51, contain useful discussions of the ancient evidence and the problems encountered in trying to interpret it. Markellos T. Mitsos, s.v. "Φειδών," *Ἀρχαϊκή Προσωπογραφία* (Athens, 1952), cites the ancient evidence and gives a useful summary of the modern bibliography on the subject. Heinrich Chantraine, "Literaturüberblicke der griechischen Numismatik," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, VIII (1957), 70-76, provides a bibliographical essay of modern works on Pheidon and the origin of coinage.

<sup>111</sup> Ephorus 70 F 115; Pausanias 6.22.2. George L. Huxley, "Argos et les derniers Téménides," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXXII (No. 2, 1958), 588-601, and *Early Sparta*, 28-30, has attempted to revive this mid-eighth-century date; Helmut Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (2 vols., Munich, 1967), I, 6-7, has recently accepted Huxley's date.

however, fails to take into account the primitive economic, social, and political conditions of early Greece and the primitive state of the Olympic games. Even if they were being held then, they could hardly have been anything more than a local celebration.<sup>112</sup> The most widely accepted date for Pheidon finds no direct evidence in the ancient literary remains; it is, rather, based on a modern emendation of the text of Pausanias. Pausanias expressly states that Pheidon gained control of the Olympic games in the eighth Olympiad (748 B.C.), but it has become fashionable ever since first suggested by Thomas Falconer to emend the text to read twenty-eighth Olympiad,<sup>113</sup> which would place Pheidon's interference in the games in 668 B.C. It is true that the date acquired by this emendation generally agrees with the information from Africanus in Eusebius' *Chronicle* that the twenty-eighth Olympiad was an Anolympiad, but this in itself is irrelevant. The ancients were not certain when the Anolympiads occurred<sup>114</sup> and, above all, no ancient author connects Pheidon with the usurpation of the games in 668. In addition, Pheidon's supposed interference at Olympia is difficult to reconcile with reports that at least two victors in the games were Spartans.<sup>115</sup> If Spartan-Argive enmity was as real in this period as has been contended, it is not likely that the Spartans would have been competing—much less winning events—while the games were under Pheidon's directorship. Most important of all, however, Pheidon's expedition to Olympia in 668 was, according to most modern scholars, made possible by his crushing victory over the Spartans at Hysiae in 669, a campaign that is known only from the pages of Pausanias. As I have argued elsewhere and briefly discussed above, there is no evidence that the Argives actually fought and defeated the Spartans at Hysiae in 669; if they did not, then it must be recognized that the only evidence for dating Pheidon to this period is the report of Africanus that the twenty-eighth Olympiad was an Anolympiad. I do not find this evidence convincing,<sup>116</sup> and I see no practical alternative to

<sup>112</sup> Moretti (*Ricerche sulle leghe greche*, 82, n. 10) lists some of the factors that make so early a date for Pheidon extremely unlikely, if not entirely impossible. We have no reliable information on the origin of the Olympic games, as Albert Brouwers, "Lycurge et la date de la fondation des jeux olympiques," in *Mélanges Georges Smets* (Brussels, 1952), 117–24, has shown. Even in antiquity the value of Hippias' list of Olympic victors was seriously questioned; see Plutarch *Numa* I; and esp. *FGH*, 414 F 1. Thomas Lenschau, "Die Siegerliste von Olympia," *Philologus*, XCI (1936–37), 396–411, has argued that the first Olympiad was held only in the year 632–631 and that the games were held yearly for half a century thereafter. According to this scheme, Pheidon would have usurped the games in 625–624.

<sup>113</sup> I have not seen Falconer's edition of Strabo, which was published at Oxford in 1807; I know it only from the works cited in notes 109–12, above.

<sup>114</sup> The evidence for the Anolympiads, that is, the years in which Elean directorship of the Olympic games was supposedly usurped by the neighboring state of Pisa, is discussed by Andrewes, "Corinthian Acteon and Pheidon of Argos," 76–77; Den Boer, *Laconian Studies*, 56–58; and Ludwig Ziehen, "Olympische Spiele," in *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1937), cols. 2520–2535.

<sup>115</sup> According to Africanus, Charmis was victor in the stadion, and Philombrotus won the pentathlon; both were Spartans. The evidence for our knowledge of victors in the Olympic games has been conveniently assembled by Luigi Moretti, "Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici," *Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche: Atti della accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, VIII (No. 8, 1957), 53–198.

<sup>116</sup> While I cannot agree with the dating of Pheidon suggested by Huxley (*Early Sparta*, 28–30, and "Argos et les derniers Téménides," 588–601), he does show good reason why Pheidon cannot be connected with the twenty-eighth Olympiad.



accepting Herodotus' plain assertion that Pheidon's son, Leocedes, was a contemporary of Cleisthenes of Sicyon,<sup>117</sup> and that Pheidon himself must, therefore, be dated in the late seventh and perhaps even early part of the sixth centuries.<sup>118</sup>

As has been discussed above, the reluctance of fourth-century scholars to accept this date appears to have contributed significantly to their erroneous belief that Sparta and Argos had been enemies from an early period, but Herodotus' clear implication that they went to war only after the Spartan conquest of Tegea cannot be cavalierly dismissed. It is possible, however, that Pheidon and Argos did play an active role in the wars between Sparta and Tegea, either as an ally of the Tegeans or perhaps independently of such an alliance, for it is not likely that the Argives would have stood passively on the sidelines while the Spartans subverted Tegean independence and moved into a position from which they might easily invade Argive territory. Accordingly, Ephorus may well be correct when he relates that there was a war between Sparta and Argos during the reign of Pheidon, but, if such a war was fought, it must be dated to the late seventh or early part of the sixth centuries, not to the middle of the eighth century as Ephorus believed.

<sup>117</sup> See Herodotus 6.127, where Leocedes is included among the suitors for the hand of Cleisthenes' daughter Agariste. Whether the setting is historic or romantic has been much debated. Cleisthenes' obvious anti-Argive tendencies would seem to preclude an Argive prince residing at his court and wooing his daughter, but as James W. Alexander, "The Marriage of Megacles," *Classical Journal*, LV (No. 3, 1955), 129-34, has argued, it is not entirely impossible.

<sup>118</sup> In an effort to reconcile the conflicting testimony regarding Pheidon's date, it has often been suggested (see the works of Den Boer, Huxley, and Will, cited above, and many others) that there must have been two Pheidons who ruled at Argos. This is not impossible, but if we are going to start inventing Pheidons we shall have to have at least three of them: one to accommodate Theopompus and the *Marmor Parium*, another to accommodate Ephorus and Pausanias, and still another to accommodate Herodotus.

# Slavery in Brazil and the United States: An Essay in Comparative History

CARL N. DEGLER

OVER twenty years ago Frank Tannenbaum made a comparison of slavery in the societies of the New World in which he argued that the differences in contemporary race relations between the United States and Latin America are to be traced to differences in the character of slavery in the two places. A decade later Stanley Elkins built a provocative book upon Tannenbaum's conclusions. More recently, Arnold Sio and David Brion Davis entered strong demurrers to the Tannenbaum-Elkins conclusions by arguing that slavery as an institution was more similar than different throughout the societies of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

These and a number of other writings on the comparative history of slavery in the Western Hemisphere attest to a burgeoning scholarly interest. But throughout the debate one of the prominent difficulties has been the great breadth and diversity of the areas being compared. To make convincing comparisons among some two dozen societies presents obvious problems and is open to the dangers of superficiality. It is the intention here, therefore, to draw a much more restricted comparison, not because the large problem that Tannenbaum raised will finally be resolved by such a limited approach, but simply because two countries are more manageable as variables than two continents. It is also worth noting that Brazil and the United States have the advantage of being the two most important slave societies in the New World. Both had a long history of slavery—only Cuba and Brazil retained slavery longer than the United States—and in both societies slavery occupied an important, if not actually a central, place in the economy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The books and articles referred to are: Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1947); Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (2d ed., Chicago, 1969), the text of which is identical with the first edition of 1959 except for an added appendix; Arnold Sio, "Interpretations of Slavery: The Slave States in the Americas," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, VII (Apr. 1965), 289–308; and David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1966).

<sup>2</sup> It has sometimes been said that the diversity of the crops and topography of Brazil resulted in a diversity of slavery that makes it difficult if not impossible to generalize about the institution in

Essentially this essay seeks to answer two quite limited questions: First, in what respects were the systems of slavery in Brazil and the United States alike during their mature years—that is, during the nineteenth century—and in what ways did they differ? Second, to what extent are these differences related to the laws and practices of the state and the Church in Brazil, as both Tannenbaum and Elkins have contended? Even if these questions can be answered with some degree of certainty, it should be said that the large question that Tannenbaum raised and sought to answer in his book will not be settled. But I hope that the ground will be cleared for a new attack upon the problem.

How were the two systems of slavery alike? Tannenbaum and Elkins stress the different legal conceptions of the slave in the United States and in Latin America. Tannenbaum, for example, contrasts the definition of a slave as a chattel in the United States with the more ambiguous definition in Latin America.

In fact, *the element of human personality was not lost in the transition to slavery from Africa to the Spanish or Portuguese dominions*. He [the Negro] remained a person even while he was a slave. . . . He was never considered a mere chattel, never defined as unanimated property, and never under the law treated as such. His master never enjoyed the powers of life and death over his body, even though abuses existed and cruelties were performed.<sup>3</sup>

Yet an examination of Brazilian and United States law reveals striking similarities in the definition of a slave.

The law in both the United States and Brazil, for example, recognized that a slave was both a human being and a piece of property. As a Tennessee court in 1846 put it,

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that country. It is true that slavery in the northeastern sugar regions was different in style from that practiced in Maranhão on the cotton and rice plantations. Writers on Brazilian history have noted, furthermore, that slavery was much harsher in a newly opened province like Maranhão than in the old and declining sugar areas in the northeast. (See Gilberto Freyre, *Nordeste* [Rio de Janeiro, 1937], 219; and Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* [2 vols., 2d ed., London, 1817], II, 292.) But the diversity of crops and terrain and the differences in "styles" of slavery that resulted are well recognized in the United States; the slavery on tobacco farms in Virginia, for example, is often contrasted with the kind of slavery on sugar or cotton plantations in Louisiana. In the United States, moreover, the threat to sell a slave "down the river" reflected a recognition that planters in the newer areas of the Deep South tended to work slaves harder than in the older regions where slavery was more firmly established. Despite their recognitions of regional diversity, however, historians of slavery in the United States have not been prevented from generalizing about the institution; hence, it would seem to be equally legitimate to ignore the regional differences in Brazilian slavery so long as an effort is made to draw evidence from most of the principal slave areas of the country. The regional differences are certainly there in both societies, but they are refinements rather than essentials. One further statement on the problems of comparison: although the literature on slavery in the United States is voluminous, there being a monograph for virtually every southern slave state, the literature on Brazilian slavery is uneven. For some important slave regions like Maranhão and Minas Gerais, for example, there are no monographic studies on slavery at all; scattered references in travel accounts and general histories must be relied upon. On the other hand, for other areas, like the coffee country to the south, two excellent, recently written monographs are available: Stanley Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); and Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia* (São Paulo, 1966). Of immense importance for its historiographical impact, if nothing else, is the impressionistic, virtuoso performance of Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York, 1946), which deals primarily with domestic slavery in northeastern Brazil though it purports to speak of slavery in general.

<sup>3</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 97-98, 103.

A slave is not in the condition of a horse, he is made after the image of the creator. He has mental capacities and an immortal principle in his nature, that constitute him equal to his owner but for the accidental position in which fortune has placed him . . . the laws . . . cannot extinguish his high born nature, nor deprive him of many rights which are inherent in man. . . .<sup>4</sup>

In 1818 a Mississippi court went so far as to observe that "Slavery is condemned by reason and the laws of nature. It exists and can only exist through municipal regulations, and in matters of doubt" the courts must lean in favor of freedom.<sup>5</sup> As late as 1861 an Alabama court concluded that because slaves "are rational beings, they are capable of committing crimes; and in reference to acts which are crimes, are regarded as persons. Because they are slaves, they are . . . incapable of performing civil acts, and, in reference to all such, they are things, not persons."<sup>6</sup>

That last statement is close, in phraseology as well as meaning, to that set forth in Brazilian slave law by its principal authority, Agostino Marques Perdigão Malheiro. "In regard to the penal code," he wrote, "the slave, as subject of the offense or agent of it, is not a *thing*, he is a *person* . . . he is a human entity." Hence he is held personally responsible for crimes. But when he is an "Object or sufferer of a crime" the matter is different. The slave is not indemnified for such injuries, though the master may be. "In the latter case the question is one of *property*, but in the other it is one of *personality*." Perdigão Malheiro makes clear, moreover, that the position of the slave in court was not much different from that of the slave in the United States. No slave in Brazil could enter a complaint himself; it had to be done by his master or by the public authority. Nor could a slave make an accusation against his master. In fact, a slave could not give sworn testimony, only information. Perdigão Malheiro writes that in only three circumstances did a slave have standing in court: in regard to spiritual matters, such as marriage; in regard to his liberty; and in matters of obvious public concern. Only in regard to the first did the legal position of the slave in the United States differ; slave marriages had no legal basis in the United States.<sup>7</sup>

If there was little difference in the conception of the slave in Brazilian and United States law, there was also little difference in the law's supposed protection of the slave's humanity. Despite the general statements of some scholars,<sup>8</sup> both societies had laws protecting the slave against murder, mistreatment, or overwork by his master.<sup>9</sup> The operative question is whether the law or the

<sup>4</sup> *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery and the Negro*, ed. Helen T. Catterall (5 vols., Washington, D. C., 1926) II, 530.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Sackett Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933), 239.

<sup>6</sup> *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery and the Negro*, ed. Catterall, III, 247.

<sup>7</sup> Agostino Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil: Ensaio Historico-Juridico-Social* (reprint of 1867 ed., 2 vols., São Paulo, 1944), I, 39-40, 34-45, 67.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 93.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South* (New York, 1956), 192, summarizes the situation in the United States as follows: "The law required that masters be humane to their slaves, furnish them adequate food and clothing, and provide care for them during sickness and old age. In short, the state endowed masters with obligations as well as rights

church in fact interceded between the master and the slave in behalf of the latter. Certainly for the United States the evidence is not convincing. And in Brazil, too, the power of the state or the church to affect the life of the slave seems to have been limited. As Henry Koster, an English planter in Brazil, pointed out early in the nineteenth century, the Brazilian government was a weak reed on which to lean for anything, much less for control over members of the ruling slaveholding class. He tells, for example, of an instance in which one of his own slaves injured the slave of another man, but says that nothing was done about the matter. The owner of the injured slave might have pressed charges, if he so chose, "but the law of itself seldom does anything. Even in the cases of murder the prosecutor . . . has it at his option to bring the trial forward or not; if he can be bribed or otherwise persuaded to give up the accusation, the matter drops to the ground." It is not likely that the state, which was run by slaveholders, would be more energetic in protecting the slave's humanity. Koster writes that occasionally a cruel master was fined for maltreating his slaves, "but," he adds, "I never heard of punishment having been carried farther than this trifling manner of correction."<sup>10</sup> Later in the century another traveler, the German painter John Rugendas, put the matter even more directly. Although there were laws in Brazil limiting the use of the whip and fixing the number of lashes at one time, he wrote in 1835:

these laws have no force and probably may be unknown to the majority of the slaves and masters; on the other hand, the authorities are so removed that in actuality the punishment of the slave for a true or imaginary infraction or the bad treatment resulting from the caprice and the cruelty of the master, only encounters limits in the fear of losing the slave by death, by flight, or as a consequence of public opinion. But these considerations are never sufficient to impede the evil and it is inescapable that examples of cruelty are not lacking, which result in the mutilation and death of slaves.<sup>11</sup>

It is only toward the end of the era of slavery, when the abolitionists brought cases of mistreatment to court, that Brazilian laws in behalf of the slaves actually protected them.

Both Elkins and Tannenbaum emphasize the role of the Roman Catholic Church in giving the Negro slave in Latin America a higher "moral" position than in the United States.<sup>12</sup> If that means that the Church accepted Negro slaves as members, the churches of the United States did, too. If it means that the

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and assumed some responsibility for the welfare of the bondsmen." For elaboration of the obligations laid down by law, see *ibid.*, 218-24.

<sup>10</sup> Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, I, 375-76; II, 237; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 295-96. Charles Expilly, a French traveler in Brazil in the 1860's, conceded that in the big cities like Rio a slave might occasionally be able to get to the police to complain of bad treatment, but, away from the cities, it was quite different. There, Expilly wrote, the power of the master was like that of "a feudal baron, who exercises in his dominion the highest and the lowest justice." There were no appeals from his sentences. "No guarantee is conceded to the slave." (Charles Expilly, *Mulheres e costumes do Brasil*, tr. Gastão Penalva [São Paulo, 1935], 361.)

<sup>11</sup> João Mauricio Rugendas, *Viagem pitoresca através do Brasil*, tr. Sergio Milliet (3d ed., São Paulo, 1941), 185.

<sup>12</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 62-64, 98; Elkins, *Slavery*, 73, 76-77.

Church actively intervened between master and slave in behalf of the latter, then it must be said that in Brazil the interest of the Church in and its power to protect the slave's humanity were as limited as those of the state. For one thing, few plantations had resident priests; most plantations saw a priest only once a year when he came to legalize unions and to baptize. There were not, in fact, enough priests in the country to affect the daily life of the slave, even if they had the interest to do so. As Emilia Viotti da Costa points out, not until 1885 did the archbishop of Bahia rule that no master could prevent a slave from marrying or sell him away from his spouse. Yet even at that late date, a slave could marry against his master's will only if the slave could demonstrate that he knew Christian doctrine—the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, and the commandments—understood the obligations of holy matrimony, and was clear in his intention to remain married for life. Furthermore, as in the United States, religion in Brazil was used by churchmen to buttress slavery. One priest told a group of planters: "Confession is the antidote to insurrections, because the confessor makes the slave see that his master is in the place of his father to whom he owes love, respect, and obedience. . . ."<sup>13</sup>

In 1887, on the eve of abolition in Brazil, the abolitionist Anselmo Fonseca wrote a long book castigating the Brazilian Catholic clergy for its lack of interest in the then highly active abolitionist movement in his country. Caustically he observed that in 1871 when Rio Branco fought for the Law of the Free Womb of slave mothers, the Church was silent, for slavery "still had much vitality. . . . It was dangerous to take it on frontally. Why did not the Bishops then show the solidarity and courage and the energy with which in 1873-74 they combated Masonry and the government?" Fonseca draws the interesting contrast between the massive indifference to the plight of the slave on the part of the Brazilian Catholic Church throughout the history of slavery and the activities of Protestant clergymen like William Ellery Channing in behalf of the slave in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Slave marriages were valid in the eyes of the Brazilian Church; marriages of slaves in Protestant churches in the United States also qualified as sacramental acts, though masters, it was understood, were not bound to honor such unions. Given the weakness of the Church's control over slave masters, it is not likely that marriages of slaves in Brazil were any more enduring or protected from disruption through sale than in the United States. In any event, in Brazil only a small proportion of slaves were married by the Church. Early in the nineteenth century the reformer José Bonifacio asked for laws to compel masters to permit slaves to marry freely and to require that at least two-thirds of a master's slaves be married. Yet, forty years later, travelers still reported that few Negroes

<sup>13</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 250, 271, 249.

<sup>14</sup> Luis Anselmo Fonseca, *A Escravidão, O clero e O abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), 440-41, 1-27. The references to Channing are on pages 12-15.



were married and that "rarely were [marriages] confirmed by a religious act." A traveler in 1841 found only 10 slaves married out of 2,500 on the Isle of Santa Catherina in southern Brazil. In northeastern Brazil, in Rio Grande do Norte, a local document listed only about 5 per cent of the 13,000 slaves in the province in 1874 as married or widowed, though 30 per cent of free persons were married. Of the 660,000 slaves in all of Brazil in 1875, who were 14 years or older, only about 1 out of 6 was recorded as married or widowed.<sup>15</sup>

In the United States the lack of protection for the informal slave family is acknowledged as a fact of slave life. Tannenbaum has summarized it well: "Under the law of most of the Southern states there was no regard for the Negro family, no question of the right of the owner to sell his slaves separately, and no limitation upon separating husband and wife, or child from its mother."<sup>16</sup>

Yet, for most of the nineteenth century, the same generalization is quite accurate for Brazil. Prior to 1869 there was no legal protection for the slave family, though, as was the case in the United States, a vigorous internal slave trade was a powerful cause for the breaking up of many families, whether their ties had been solemnized by the Church or not. The internal slave trade in Brazil was especially active in the middle years of the nineteenth century when the coffee areas in the South were expanding and thousands of slaves were brought down from the economically declining Northeast. One estimate in 1862 put at five thousand per year the number arriving from the North at Rio de Janeiro by coastal shipping alone. A modern authority has cited thirty thousand a year as the number that went from the North to the state of São Paulo between 1850 and 1870.<sup>17</sup>

There is little doubt that the disruption of the slave family was common in Brazil at least prior to 1869. Indeed, to take an extreme example, one of the great Brazilian abolitionists, Luis Gama, was sold into slavery by his own white father. Stanley Stein reports that in the 1870's it was not unknown in Vassouras for a planter to sell his mulatto offspring to a passing slave trader.<sup>18</sup> A law passed in 1875, prohibiting the sale of one's own children, suggests that such a practice was known even at that late date.<sup>19</sup> Another sign that the slave family was disintegrating throughout the nineteenth century, at least, is that antislavery reformers like Bonifacio in the early nineteenth century and others as late as 1862

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 268; Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Octávio Ianni, *Côr e mobilidade social em Florianópolis* (São Paulo, 1960), 128-29; Robert Edgar Conrad, "The Struggle for the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, 1808-1853," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1967, 55-56.

<sup>16</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 77.

<sup>17</sup> W. D. Christie, *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London, 1865), 93; Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1937), 151. Roberto Simonsen, "As Consequências economica da abolição," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVII (May, 1938), 261, says that in 1888 over two-thirds of the slaves in the Empire were in the provinces of Rio, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and those to the south. I am indebted to Professor Richard Graham of the University of Utah for this reference.

<sup>18</sup> Stein, *Vassouras*, 159.

<sup>19</sup> Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville, Fla., 1958), 146; Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), 117.



were demanding that ways be found to protect the slave family.<sup>20</sup> In 1854 Baron Cotegipe, who was later to oppose abolition, argued for limitations on the internal slave trade because it disrupted families. "It is a horror, gentlemen," he told the Senate, "to see children ripped from their mothers, husbands separated from wives, parents from children! Go to Law Street . . . and be outraged and touched by the spectacle of such sufferings. . . ." In 1866 Perdigão Malheiro was still asking that the law prevent the separation of married slave couples and children of less than seven years of age. Without such legal protection, he contended, there was little reason to expect the slave family to exist at all.<sup>21</sup>

The fact is that in Brazil prior to 1869 there was no law preventing the disruption of slave families. And even the law passed in 1869 required some nine years of agitation before it was enacted.<sup>22</sup> Most slave states in the US, as Tannenbaum has pointed out, never enacted such laws, but a few did. A law of 1829 in Louisiana prohibited the sale of children under ten; apparently it was adhered to by slave traders. Laws in Alabama and Georgia forbade the dissolution of inherited slave families, but not others. In practice, probably most planters in the United States tried to avoid breaking up slave families, though undoubtedly many were disrupted.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most frequently stressed difference between slavery in Latin America and the United States concerns manumission. Yet, even here, as Davis has pointed out, manumission in Brazil was not unlimited, and in the US it was not absolutely denied.<sup>24</sup> The purchase of freedom by the slave himself, so much emphasized in discussions on Brazilian slavery, was, moreover, far from rare in the United States. Sumner Matison, for example, found several hundred examples of self-purchase. Luther Jackson, studying self-purchase in three cities of Virginia, found twenty examples even at the height of the sectional conflict of the 1850's and despite a law requiring removal of manumitted slaves out of the state.<sup>25</sup>

On the Brazilian side of the comparison it must be said that prior to 1871, despite tradition and the assertions of Tannenbaum and Elkins,<sup>26</sup> there was no law requiring a master to permit a slave to buy his freedom. One American historian of Brazil made a search for such a law, but found none before 1871, when emancipationists insisted upon it; this suggests that the practice of self-

<sup>20</sup> Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil*, tr. Richard Pattee (Washington, D. C., 1939), 58-59.

<sup>21</sup> Maurilio de Gouveia, *História da escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), 134; Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil*, II, 223.

<sup>22</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 271, 385. The law prohibited selling children under fifteen away from their parents. The so-called Law of the Free Womb of 1871, however, lowered the age to twelve.

<sup>23</sup> Joe Gray Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1963), 40-41; Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 252, 239-41; Edward W. Phifer, "Slavery in Microcosm: Burke County, North Carolina," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (May 1962), 48.

<sup>24</sup> Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 262-64.

<sup>25</sup> Sumner E. Matison, "Manumission by Purchase," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXIII (Apr. 1948), 165; Luther P. Jackson, "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities," *ibid.*, XV (July 1930), 306.

<sup>26</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 54; Elkins, *Slavery*, 75.

purchase was not as firmly protected as has been alleged.<sup>27</sup> It is true that in Brazilian law there were none of the limitations that became increasingly common in the southern United States after 1830. Under Brazilian law emancipation was legal in almost any form: by letter, by will, or by explicit statement at baptism.<sup>28</sup> In Brazil, moreover, there were no statutes requiring the removal of emancipated slaves to other states, though such laws were characteristic of the southern United States. But Brazilian law contained a curious qualification to its otherwise liberal policy on emancipation: freedom might be revoked by the master for ingratitude on the part of the freedman, even if that ingratitude was expressed only orally and outside of the presence of the former master. Perdigão Malheiro, who reports this provision of the law, doubted that it was still valid in 1866. In 1871 the power to revoke freedom was explicitly withdrawn in an anti-slavery law, suggesting that the old provision was not such a dead letter that opponents of slavery were willing to let it remain on the statute books.<sup>29</sup> The provision also raises a question as to whether the law in Brazil was in fact helping to preserve the Negro's moral personality as some modern historians have argued. At the very least it encouraged masters to think of their Negroes as minors or wards rather than as persons on an equal footing. At worst, it perpetuated in the Negro that sense of subordination and inferiority derived from the degraded status of slavery, thereby counteracting whatever elevating effects might flow from the relative ease of manumission.

Some modern historians, like Tannenbaum and Elkins,<sup>30</sup> have emphasized the slave's right to hold property in Latin America and therefore to be in a position to buy his freedom, as contrasted with the lack of that right in the US. In Brazil, however, the law did not permit slaves to possess property, or a peculium, until near the end of the era of slavery. Perdigão Malheiro writes in his treatise on slave law that, as late as 1866, "Among us, no law guarantees to the slave his peculium; nor the disposition overall by the last will, nor the succession. . . ." However, he goes on, most masters tolerated the slave's holding property, generally permitting the slave to use it as he saw fit.<sup>31</sup> The same situation prevailed, by and large, in the United States, where slave property was neither recognized nor protected by law, but in practice was generally recognized by the master. Occasionally the courts would throw a protective arm around the peculium, as in a South Carolina case in 1792, when a slave was held capable of

<sup>27</sup> Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "The Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire: A Comparison with the United States of America," *Journal of Negro History*, XV (July 1930), 331.

<sup>28</sup> Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil*, I, 95.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 167-68; Gouveia, *História da escravidão*, 396. The Code Noir of Louisiana, which also had liberal provisions for manumission, contained the following restrictions: "We command all manumitted slaves to show the profoundest respect to their former masters, to their widows and children, and any injury or insult offered by said manumitted slaves to their former master, their widows or children, shall be punished with more severity than if it had been offered by any other person." (Quoted in Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Louisiana*, 16.)

<sup>30</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 54; Elkins, *Slavery*, 246.

<sup>31</sup> Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil*, I, 60.

holding property separate from that of his master. On the basis of that case, a half century later, Judge J. B. O'Neill of South Carolina concluded that "by the law of this state a slave might acquire personal property."<sup>32</sup>

Yet, after all these qualifications have been made in the usually optimistic picture of manumission under Brazilian slavery, Brazil still appears to have been more liberal on manumission than was the US. And the principal reason for this conclusion is the higher proportion of free Negroes in Brazil than in the United States. Because of the paucity of adequate figures for both countries, a quantitative comparison can be made only for the nineteenth century. In 1817-1818 the number of slaves in Brazil was about three times that of free Negroes and mulattoes.<sup>33</sup> This ratio may be compared with that in the United States in 1860, when the number of free Negroes reached its maximum under slavery. At that date there were eight times as many slaves as free Negroes in the whole of the United States and sixteen times as many slaves if the comparison is made in the slave states only. As slavery came to an end in Brazil the number of free Negroes grew enormously, so that in 1872 the number of free Negroes and colored was more than double that of the slaves.<sup>34</sup>

Although it is not the intention of this essay to explain this difference in attitude toward manumission, if only because of the complexity of the issue, at least two suggestions are worth brief examination. One of these is that Brazilian masters were freeing the sick and the old in order to relieve themselves of responsibility and cost. Denunciations in newspapers and laws prohibiting such practices indicate that masters were indeed freeing their infirm, aged, and incurable slaves.<sup>35</sup> Yet it is difficult to believe that such practices, however widespread they appear to be, could have been the principal source of the relatively large free colored population. Infirm, aged, or sick slaves simply would not have been numerous enough or have been able to produce offspring in sufficient numbers to account for the great number of free colored.

Marvin Harris has advanced a more reasonable explanation, in which he emphasizes the differences in the processes of settlement and economic development in Brazil and the United States.<sup>36</sup> In Brazil a freed Negro or mulatto had a place in a society that was only sparsely populated and in a slave economy that was focused upon staple production. Free blacks and mulattoes were needed in the economy to produce food, to serve as slave catchers, militiamen, shopkeepers, craftsmen, artisans, and so forth. They filled the many petty jobs and performed the "interstitial" work of the economy that slave labor could not easily

<sup>32</sup> *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery and the Negro*, ed. Catterall, II, 267, 275, n.

<sup>33</sup> Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil: ensaio historico-juridico-social* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), Pt. 3, 13-14.

<sup>34</sup> Raymond Sayers, *Negro in Brazilian Literature* (New York, 1956), 7.

<sup>35</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 262-63; Stein, *Vassouras*, 79, n; see also the report of the British minister, August 1852, quoting the effort by the president of the province of Bahia to have the practice stopped by law. The report is given in Christie, *Notes on Brazilian Questions*, 218-19.

<sup>36</sup> Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York, 1964), 84-89.

perform and that white labor was insufficient to man. Octavio Ianni, writing about slavery in southern Brazil, and Nelson de Senna, describing conditions in Minas Gerais, emphasize the great variety of occupations filled by free Negroes and mulattoes.<sup>37</sup>

In the southern United States many plantations also allocated their labor in this fashion, that is, by importing food rather than growing it. But the food was produced by a large number of nonslaveholding whites in the South and the Northwest. Virtually from the beginning of settlement in the South there had been more than enough whites to perform all the tasks of the society except that of compulsory labor. In fact, throughout the ante bellum years, as later, the South exported whites to the rest of the nation. Hence, in the US there was no compelling economic reason for emancipation; nor, more importantly, was there any economic place for those who were manumitted. But this demographic or materialist interpretation is not the complete explanation, suggestive as it is. As we shall see later, the relative ease of manumission in Brazil was part of a larger and deeper difference in attitudes between the two societies.

Comparisons between slavery in Brazil and the United States traditionally emphasize the greater rebelliousness of slaves in Brazil. But here, too, the distinction, when examined closely, is not as sharp as has frequently been alleged. The most often mentioned measure of the greater rebelliousness of Brazilian slaves is the large slave hideaway or *quilombo* of Palmares in northeastern Brazil, which, during the seventeenth century, resisted the attacks of government and other troops for more than fifty years. Examples of other *quilombos*, less spectacular or famous than Palmares, are also well documented.<sup>38</sup> It is questionable, however, whether such groups of runaways, no matter how long lived or large scale, ought to be classed as slave rebellions. Generally the *quilombos* neither attempted to overthrow the slave system nor made war on it, except when whites sought to destroy them. Even Palmares would have been content to remain as an African state separate from white society if the government and the *paulistas* had left it alone.<sup>39</sup> Thus, if one is counting armed uprisings against slaveholders, such as took place under Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831, then the total number in Brazil is considerably smaller if one excludes the *quilombos*. For in Brazil, as in the United States, the most common expression of slave unrest was the runaway, not the insurrectionist.

<sup>37</sup> Octávio Ianni, *As Metamorfoses do escravo* (São Paulo, 1962), 175; Nelson de Senna, *Africanos no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1938), 62. Caio Prado Junior, *História econômica do Brasil* (10th ed., n.p., n.d.), 45, asserts that cattle raising in the *sertão* of the northeast required free men rather than slaves.

<sup>38</sup> The fullest and most recent account of Palmares in English is R. K. Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil," *Journal of African History*, VI (No. 2, 1965), 161-75. As his title suggests, Kent argues (pp. 163-64) against depicting Palmares as merely a *quilombo*, but that issue is not important in this discussion. Clovis Moura, *Rebeliões da senzala* (São Paulo, 1959), contains a number of accounts of *quilombos* aside from Palmares.

<sup>39</sup> See Edison Carneiro, *Ladinos e Crioulos (Estudos sobre o negro no Brasil)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964), 30-32, for a statement on this point by an authority on Palmares and *quilombos* in general.

Rumors of revolts were common in both countries, but, except during the last years of slavery and with the exception of a series of revolts in Bahia in the early nineteenth century, slave revolts in Brazil were scattered, and in some areas almost nonexistent. Koster, the English planter, wrote in the early nineteenth century that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves." Modern historians of the coffee region point out that neither slave revolts nor *quilombos* were on anything but a small scale. Da Costa speaks of revolts as "rare in the coffee regions." F. H. Cardoso also found little opportunity for, or evidence of, slave revolts in Rio Grande do Sul. Girão writes that in Ceará Province in the early nineteenth century "fugitives were not common and rebellions very rare." Octavio Eduardo reports that "no series of revolts occurred in Maranhão as they did in Bahia, although the revolt of the Balaio from 1838 to 1841" attracted runaway slaves to the cause.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, general works on slave rebellions in Brazil as a whole emphasize their importance, and a recent study of the sugar areas in São Paulo Province refers to the large number of slave rebellions there.<sup>41</sup> In short, much work remains to be done on the extent and character of slave unrest in Brazil, and it seems safe to say that most of the writing on slave rebellions has not been careful to distinguish between military outbreaks and runaways or between those uprisings striking at the slave system directly and those simply fleeing from it, as, for example, has been done for American slave revolts by Marion Kilson.<sup>42</sup>

In the broadest sense, of course, both slave rebellions and runaways threatened the slave system, for they constituted avenues by which some slaves could escape from the system and raised the expectations of those who remained behind. In this regard, Brazilian slaves had somewhat greater opportunities for escape than had slaves in the United States. Actual revolts may not have been much more numerous in Brazil, but the numbers of slaves involved in those that did take place were greater, just as the size of the *quilombos* were larger than those in the United States. Stein described a revolt in Vassouras, for example, that mobilized three hundred slaves and required federal troops to suppress it. At least two revolts involving several hundred slaves were reported in 1820 in Minas Gerais. In the first half of the nineteenth century in the province of Espírito Santo, uprisings of two hundred and four hundred slaves occurred, though it is not clear whether these were revolts or collective runaways.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, II, 258; *Relações raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo*, ed. Roger Bastide (São Paulo, 1955), 199; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 300-301, 315; Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Capitalismo e escravidão no Brasil meridional* (São Paulo, 1962), 159-60; Raimundo Girão, *A Abolição no Ceará* (Fortaleza, Brazil, 1956), 42; Aderbal Jurema, *Insurreições negras no Brasil* (Recife, Brazil, 1935), 53-55; Maura, *Rebeliões da senzala*, 65-66; Octavio da Costa Eduardo, *The Negro in Northern Brazil* (New York, 1948), 18.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Jurema, *Insurreições negras no Brasil*; Maura, *Rebeliões da senzala*; and Maria Thereza Schorer Petrone, *A Lavoura canavieira em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1968), 121-25. Professor Graham brought the last reference to my attention.

<sup>42</sup> Marion D. de B. Kilson, "Towards Freedom: An Analysis of Slave Revolts in the United States," *Phylon*, XXV (2d Quar., 1964), 175-87.

<sup>43</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 304; Maria Stella de Novaes, *A Escravidão e abolição no Espírito Santo* (Vitória, Brazil, 1963), 77.

The really striking examples of undoubted slave insurrections are the half dozen that erupted in and around the city of Bahia between 1807 and 1835, several of which involved pitched battles between armed slaves and government troops. It is significant that these rebellions occurred in the city, not in the plantation region. They are, moreover, among the few that can be confidently classified as violent attacks upon whites and the slave system rather than as flights to a *quilombo*.<sup>44</sup> But, in the history of Brazilian slavery, the Bahian revolts were unusual and, as we shall see, the consequence of special circumstances.

There were true slave revolts in the US, too, though they were fewer and generally much smaller in number of participants than in Brazil. Of the three biggest and best-known uprisings, those at Stono, South Carolina, in 1739, New Orleans in 1811, and Southampton, Virginia, in 1831, only the second involved more than one hundred slaves. The *quilombos* in the United States were considerably fewer and smaller in size than those in Brazil.<sup>45</sup> The climate in the US was largely responsible for the smaller number of maroons, or *quilombos*. In most of the United States the winter is simply too harsh for a *quilombo* to survive for very long, whereas the greater part of Brazil lies in the tropics. The frontier area in the United States was, moreover, too well settled and, accordingly, too well policed, especially after the seventeenth century, to provide many opportunities for colonies of runaways. The only example of a *quilombo* approaching the size and endurance of Palmares was the Second Seminole War, during which Indians and runaway blacks held out against the US Army for seven years.<sup>46</sup> It is significant that the struggle took place in the warmest part of the United States and in an area unsettled by whites.

Another difference between the two slave societies was the dependence of the Brazilians upon the African slave trade. Although the foreign slave trade in Brazil was supposedly ended in 1831 by treaty with Great Britain, all authorities agree that importations of slaves continued at high annual rates for another twenty years. Over 300,000 slaves entered Brazil between 1842 and 1851 alone, bringing the total number of slaves in the country to 2,500,000 in 1850, probably the highest figure ever reached.<sup>47</sup> There is also general agreement that the importation of large numbers of slaves into the United States ceased in 1807, with the federal prohibition of the foreign trade. Actually, every one of the slave states themselves had prohibited importation prior to 1800. Only South Carolina

<sup>44</sup> Ramos, *Negro in Brazil*, 34-37. The basic source for the revolts in Bahia is Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (2d ed., São Paulo, 1935), Chap. II, but Raymond Kent will soon publish a thorough examination of the revolt of 1835, a copy of which he has kindly permitted me to read in typescript.

<sup>45</sup> Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943), *passim*, and Herbert Aptheker, "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIV (April, 1939), 167-84.

<sup>46</sup> See Kenneth W. Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Journal of Southern History*, XXX (Nov., 1964), 427-40.

<sup>47</sup> Maurício Goulart, *Escravidão africana no Brasil* (2d ed., São Paulo, 1950), 249-63; the total figure for slaves is given in Stein, *Vassouras*, 294. Christie (*Notes on Brazilian Questions*, 69-70) insists that when he was writing, in 1865, slaves numbered three million. The lack of a census makes it impossible to arrive at anything more accurate than estimates.



reopened the trade before the federal government finally closed it. Thus even before 1807 the influx of native Africans had decreased considerably.

The larger number of recently imported Africans in Brazil all through the history of slavery probably accounts for the greater number of revolts there.<sup>48</sup> Revolts were hard enough to organize and carry out under any circumstances, but they were especially difficult under a slave system like that in the United States where the slaves were principally native and almost entirely shorn of their African culture or identity. In Brazil the presence of thousands of newly arrived Africans, alienated from their new masters and society while often united by their common African tribal culture, was undoubtedly a source of slave rebellion. Stein calls attention to a rash of attempted uprisings in Vassouras in the 1840's just as the number of imported Africans reached its peak. Particularly in the cities were the slaves able to retain their African languages, dances, religious rites, and other customs, even though the authorities, aware of the nucleus such African traits provided for discontent and revolt, attempted to suppress them.<sup>49</sup> It is certainly not accidental that the greatest revolts in Brazil were in the city of Bahia and that they were generally led by Hausa and Yoruba Negroes, who were Muslims. A common African tribal culture, language, and religion provided the necessary cement of organization and the incentives to resistance, which were almost wholly lacking among the slaves in the United States. It is significant that the documents captured from the Bahian rebels in 1835 were written in Arabic script, and, though there is some doubt as to the extent of the religious basis for the revolt, a number of the leaders were clearly Muslims.<sup>50</sup> In the nineteenth century, coffee planters in the southern part of Brazil were so conscious of the dangers of newly arrived slaves from the same African tribal background that they limited their purchases of such slaves to small numbers in order to minimize revolts. C. R. Boxer writes that the diversity of African nations among the slaves in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais was the chief safeguard against the outbreak of revolts.<sup>51</sup>

The connections between Brazil and Africa were so close in the nineteenth century that some slaves, after they earned their freedom or otherwise gained manumission, elected to return to Africa. One historian, for example, has reported on a number of leaders of nineteenth-century Nigerian society who had been slaves in Brazil, but who after manumission returned to Africa to make a living in the slave trade. So intimate was the connection between Brazil and

<sup>48</sup> Mörner (*Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, 76) suggests that most slave revolts were led by African-born slaves.

<sup>49</sup> Stein, *Vassouras*, 145; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 232; Cardoso and Ianni, *Côr e mobilidade*, 126-27.

<sup>50</sup> Ramos, *Negro in Brazil*, 30-31, 36-37; Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil* (Chicago, 1942), 39-40; E. Franklin Frazier, "Some Aspects of Race Relations in Brazil," *Phylon*, III (Third Quarter, 1942), 290. Kent, in the unpublished article referred to in note 44, above, strongly questions the religious basis for the 1835 revolt in Bahia, which heretofore has been the standard interpretation. (See, e.g., Roger Bastide, *Les religions africaines au Brésil* [Paris, 1960], 146.)

<sup>51</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 235, 252; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962), 176-77.



Africa that until 1905 at least—almost twenty years after abolition—ships plied between Bahia and Lagos, “repatriating nostalgic, emancipated Negroes and returning with West Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.”<sup>52</sup> In striking contrast is the well-known reluctance of Negroes in the United States during the ante bellum years to have anything to do with removal to Africa. That contrast emphasizes once again the overwhelmingly native character of slavery in the US and the dearth of African survivals.

The persistence, and even expansion, of the slave system of the United States without any substantial additions from importations is unique in history. Neither in antiquity nor in Latin America was a slave system sustained principally by reproduction. Even if one accepts the highest figure for smuggling into the United States—270,000 in the fifty years prior to 1860, or about 5,000 a year—the figure can hardly account for the steady and large increase in the slave population recorded by the decennial censuses. For example, in the 1790's, prior to the federal closing of the slave trade, the increase was 30 per cent; in the 1840's the increase was still 28 per cent, while the absolute average annual figures were 20,000 and 70,000, respectively. In short, it seems clear that reproduction was the principal source of slaves for the United States, at least since the first census.<sup>53</sup> One consequence was that the ratio between the sexes was virtually equal, a fact that was conducive to holding slaves in so-called family units as well as to breeding. (It was also conducive to greater control over the slaves.) Thus the ratio between the sexes in Mississippi counties according to the census of 1860 was about the same as among the whites. In 1860 in all of the southern slave states the numerical difference between the sexes was 3 per cent or less of the total, except in Louisiana where the surplus of males was 3.6 per cent. This ratio among the slaves was closer to an absolute balance between the sexes than obtained among the whites themselves in five southern states, where the surplus of males ran between 4 and 8 per cent of the white population. Thus in both the so-called breeding and consuming regions of the South the sexes were remarkably well balanced.

Although Gilberto Freyre writes of the Brazilian master's interest in the “generative belly” of the female slave, other writers make clear that slave breeding was not important to Brazilian slaveholders. Stein, for example, found a genuine reluctance among slaveholders to breed and rear slaves; the very hours during which male and female slaves could be together were deliberately limited.

<sup>52</sup> David A. Ross, “The Career of Domingo Martinez in the Bight of Benin,” *Journal of African History*, VI (No. 1, 1965), 83. Freyre (*Nordeste*, 130–31) and Da Costa (*Da Senzala*, 56–57, n.) also report blacks returning to Africa and acting as slave traders. See also Donald Pierson, “The Educational Process and the Brazilian Negro,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (May 1943), 695, n.; and Gilberto Freyre, *Ordem e Progresso* (2d ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1962), 572, n. 33. The close connection between Africa and Brazil is forcefully demonstrated in José Honório Rodrigues, *Brazil and Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965).

<sup>53</sup> The above was written before the publication of Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969). Curtin, p. 234, estimates that after 1808 the total number of slaves entering the United States directly from Africa was fewer than 55,000.

Lynn Smith cites a number of sources to show that masters consciously restricted slave reproduction by locking up the sexes separately at night.<sup>54</sup>

Undoubtedly the availability of slaves from Africa accounts for some of the lack of interest in slave breeding in Brazil prior to 1851. For within five years after the closing of the slave trade, books began to appear in Brazil advising planters to follow the example of Virginians, who were alleged to be such efficient breeders of slaves that the infants were bought while still in the mother's womb.<sup>55</sup> These exhortations do not seem to have had much effect, however, for twenty years after the end of the African slave trade the slaveholder's customary rationale for not raising slaves was still being advanced:

"One buys a Negro for 300 milreis, who harvests in the course of the year 100 arboas of coffee, which produces a net profit at least equal to the cost of the slave; thereafter everything is profit. It is not worth the trouble to raise children, who, only after sixteen years, will give equal service. Furthermore, the pregnant Negroes and those nursing are not available to use the hoe; heavy fatigue prevents the regular development of the fetus in some; in others the diminution of the flow of milk, and in almost all, sloppiness in the treatment of the children occurs, from which sickness and death of the children result. So why raise them?"<sup>56</sup>

And apparently infant mortality among slaves was amazingly high, even after the foreign slave trade had ended. One authority on the coffee region has placed it as high as 88 per cent. The census of 1870 revealed that in the city of Rio de Janeiro the mortality of slave children exceeded births by 1.8 per cent; even this shocking figure must have been a minimum since most slaves in Rio were domestic and presumably better cared for than agricultural slaves. Rio Branco, the Brazilian statesman who gave his name to an important emancipationist law, calculated that on the basis of the excess of slave deaths over births alone slavery would die out within seventy-five years. And although the British minister at Rio, W. D. Christie, was highly incensed at Brazilian complacency over the persistence of slavery, he had to admit in 1863 in a report to his home government that

the slave population is decreasing, though not considerably. . . . The mortality among the children of slaves is very great; and Brazilian proprietors do not appear to have given nearly so much attention as might have been expected, from obvious motives of self-interest, to marriages among slaves, or the care of mothers or children.<sup>57</sup>

One undoubted consequence of the continuance of the foreign slave trade was that Brazilian planters made no effort to balance the sexes among the slaves. Since male slaves were stronger and more serviceable, they apparently constituted the overwhelming majority of the importations throughout the history of Brazil-

<sup>54</sup> Stein, *Vassouras*, 155; T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil, People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge, La., 1963), 130.

<sup>55</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 130.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Joaquim Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, in *Obras completas* (14 vols., São Paulo, 1944-49), VII, 89-90. The book from which Nabuco quoted was published in 1872.

<sup>57</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 256; Gouveia, *História da escravidão*, 203; Christie, *Notes on Brazilian Questions*, 102, n.

ian slavery. According to one authority, on some plantations there were no female slaves. For Brazil as a whole he estimates that one Negro woman was imported for each three or four males. The statistics compiled by Stein for Vassouras support that estimate, for he found that between 1820 and 1880 70 per cent or more of the African-born slaves were males. Robert Conrad, quoting from the records of captured slave ships in the 1830's and 1840's, found ratios of one to four and one to five in favor of males.<sup>58</sup> The heavy imbalance between the sexes meant that once the slave trade was stopped, Brazilian slavery began to decline, for the paucity of women, not to mention the masters' lack of interest in breeding, ensured that the reduction in the foreign supply of slaves would not be easily or quickly made up.

The imbalance between the sexes in Brazil may help also to explain the somewhat greater number of rebellions and runaways in that country as compared with the United States. In the US, with slaves more or less divided into family units, for a male slave to rebel or to run away meant serious personal loss, since he probably would have to leave women and children behind. Such a consequence was much less likely in Brazil. One indication that the pairing of the sexes in the United States reduced rebelliousness is provided by a report from São Paulo toward the last years of slavery when masters were quoted as saying about a restless or rebellious slave: "It is necessary to give that Negro in marriage and give him a piece of land in order to calm him down and cultivate responsibility in him."<sup>59</sup>

Although it is often said or implied that slavery in Latin America in general was milder than in the United States,<sup>60</sup> there are several reasons for believing that in a comparison between Brazil and the US the relationship is just the reverse. Admittedly such comparisons are difficult to make since the evidence that might be mustered on either side is open to serious doubts as to its representativeness. But this problem can be circumvented in part, at least, if general classes of evidence are used. There are at least three general reasons, aside from any discrete examples of treatment of slaves, suggesting that slavery was harsher in Brazil than in the United States. First, the very fact that slavery in the US was able to endure and expand on the basis of reproduction alone is itself strong testimony to a better standard of physical care. It is true that the imbalance of the sexes in Brazil played a part in keeping down reproduction, but the high mortality of slave children and the care and expense involved probably account for the reluctance to rear slaves in the first place. Moreover, as we have seen, even after the slave trade was closed, the rearing of slave children was still resisted in Brazil. Masters said that it was easier to raise three or four white children than one black child, the difference being attributed to the "greater fragility

<sup>58</sup> Rodrigues, *Brazil and Africa*, 159; Stein, *Vassouras*, 155; Conrad, "Struggle for Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade," 55.

<sup>59</sup> *Relações raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo*, ed. Bastide, 81.

<sup>60</sup> See, e.g., Elkins, *Slavery*, 77-78.

of the black race." In 1862 a French visitor reported that "the most simple hygienic measures are almost always neglected by the owners of slaves, and the mortality of '*negrillons*' is very considerable, especially on the plantations of the interior."<sup>61</sup> Brazilians, in short, simply did not take sufficient care of their slaves for them to reproduce.

Second, there are kinds of severe and cruel treatment of slaves in Brazil that rarely occurred in the United States. A number of Brazilian sources, both during the colonial period and under the Empire in the nineteenth century, speak of the use of female slaves as prostitutes.<sup>62</sup> So far as I know, this source of income from slaves was unknown or very rare in the United States. Brazilian sources also contain numerous references to the use of iron or tin masks on slaves, usually to prevent them from eating dirt or drinking liquor. Indeed, the practice of using masks was sufficiently common that pictures of slaves wearing them appear in books on slavery. I have yet to see such a picture in the literature of slavery in the US, and references to the use of the mask are rare, though not unknown.<sup>63</sup> As already noted, Brazilian sources call attention to another practice that also suggests severe treatment: the freeing of ill, old, or crippled slaves in order to escape the obligation of caring for them. The several efforts to legislate against this practice, much less to put a stop to it, were fruitless until just before the abolition of slavery.<sup>64</sup> Finally, because of the imbalance of the sexes, most slaves in Brazil had no sexual outlets at all.

Though making comparisons of physical treatment may have pitfalls, the effort has value because such comparisons give some insight into the nature of the slave systems in the two countries. Some authorities, like Elkins, for example,<sup>65</sup> argue that a comparative analysis of treatment is not germane to a comparison of the impact of slavery on the Negro, for "in one case [Latin America] we would be dealing with cruelty of man to men, and in the other [the United States], with the care, maintenance, and indulgence of men toward creatures who were legally and morally *not* men. . . ." But this argument collapses, as Davis has pointed out,<sup>66</sup> when it can be shown that the law in Brazil and the United States defined the slave as both a man and a thing. Under such circumstances, treatment can no longer be confidently separated from attitudes. Instead, the way a master treats a slave, particularly *when the slave is a member of*

<sup>61</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 257-58; Élisée Reclus, "Le Brésil et la Colonisation. II," *Revue des deux mondes*, XL (July-Aug. 1862), 391.

<sup>62</sup> Boxer, *Golden Age of Brazil*, 138, 165; Gilberto Freyre, *Masters and the Slaves*, 455.

<sup>63</sup> See the picture, e.g., in Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, facing p. 240; Gilberto Freyre, *O Escravo nos anúncios de jornais brasileiros do século XIX* (Recife, Brazil, 1963), 100, discusses the use of the mask; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), 437-38, describes the masks he saw worn on the street. Stampf (*Peculiar Institution*, 304) notes that masks were sometimes used in the United States to prevent eating clay. There is at least one reference to masks in that compendium of horrors by Theodore Weld, *American Slavery as It Is* (New York, 1839), 76.

<sup>64</sup> References to the practice are common. See, e.g., Gouveia, *História, da escravidão*, 179; Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil*, II, 220, 348; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 263.

<sup>65</sup> Elkins, *Slavery*, 78, n.

<sup>66</sup> Davis, *Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 229, n.

a physically identifiable class, becomes a part of the historian's evidence for ascertaining the attitude of white men toward black men who are slaves, and of the way in which blacks are conditioned to think of themselves. When a master muzzles a slave, for example, he is literally treating him like a dog. The master's behavior, at the very least, is evidence for concluding that he considered his slave on the level with a dog; at the most, his behavior suggests that its source was the belief that the slave was from the beginning no better than a dog. In either case, the master's treatment of the slave is part of the evidence to be evaluated in ascertaining white men's attitudes toward black slaves. Perhaps even more important is the real possibility that a slave who is muzzled or who sees other black men muzzled may well be led to think of himself as a dog, worthy of being muzzled. In short, the treatment accorded black slaves in both societies is relevant to the question of how white men think about black men.

A second reason for making a comparison of physical treatment is to call attention to the importance of the slave trade in accounting for some of the differences between slavery in Brazil and the United States. Brazilians simply did not have to treat their slaves with care or concern when new slaves were obtainable from outside the system. That the slave trade played this role was recognized by Perdigão Malheiro in 1866, after the trade had been stopped for fifteen years. He asserted that since the closing of the traffic from abroad the treatment of slaves in Brazil had improved. No longer, he wrote, did one "meet in the streets, as in other not remote times, slaves with their faces covered by a wire mask or a great weight on the foot. . . ." Slaves were so well dressed and shod, he continued, "that no one would know who they are," that is, they could not be distinguished from free blacks. Two visiting Americans noticed the same change even earlier:

Until 1850, when the slave-trade was effectually put down, it was considered cheaper, on the country plantations to use up a slave in five or seven years, and purchase another, than to take care of him. This I had, in the interior, from intelligent native Brazilians, and my own observation has confirmed it. But, since the inhuman traffic has ceased, the price of slaves has been enhanced, and the selfish motives for taking greater care of them have been increased.<sup>67</sup>

But it needs to be added that the closing of the foreign slave trade in Brazil had at least one worsening effect upon the lot of the slave. It undoubtedly increased the internal slave trade, thereby enhancing the likelihood of the dissolution of slave families. Prior to 1850 the foreign slave trade probably kept to a minimum the movement of established slaves from one part of the country to another. In the United States, on the other hand, slaves prior to 1850 probably experienced more disruption of families, simply because the foreign slave trade was closed and the opening of new areas in the Southwest provided a growing

<sup>67</sup> Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil*, II, 114-15; D. P. Kidder and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), 132.

market for slaves, who had to be drawn from the older regions, especially the upper South.

One of the earliest signs of discrimination against Negroes in seventeenth-century Virginia, Maryland, and even New England was the legal denial of arms to blacks, free or slave, but not to white indentured servants.<sup>68</sup> This discrimination constitutes perhaps the sharpest difference between the slave systems of the US and Brazil. Almost from the beginning of settlement, the Portuguese and then the Brazilians permitted not only Negroes, but slaves themselves, to be armed. Arthur Ramos has even suggested that whites encouraged the slaves to arm themselves.<sup>69</sup> During the wars against the French and the Dutch invaders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, large numbers of slaves and free Negroes fought on the side of the Brazilians. The Dutch occupation of northeastern Brazil, which entailed almost continuous warfare, lasted for a quarter of a century. Negroes, slave and free, also fought in the War of the Farrapos in southern Brazil against the Empire in the late 1830's. Indeed, as Roger Bastide has written, "the Negro appears in all the civil revolts, the war of the *paulistas* against the Emboabos, the wars of national independence, and one even sees them in the party struggles under the Empire, between royalists and republicans or in the rivalries of political leaders among themselves." Slaves served in the Paraguayan War of 1865-70, often being sent by masters to fight in their places or to win favor with the Emperor. Fugitive slaves also served in the Brazilian army in the nineteenth century. At the end of the Paraguayan War some twenty thousand slaves who had served in the army were given their freedom.<sup>70</sup>

When comparable occasions arose in the United States the results were quite different. During the American Revolution, for example, Henry and John Laurens, leading figures in South Carolina, proposed in 1779 that slaves be enlisted to help counter the military successes of the British in the southern colonies. It was understood that the survivors would be freed. Although the Laurenses were joined by a few other South Carolinians and the Continental Congress approved of the plan, the South Carolina legislature overwhelmingly rejected it. The Laurenses raised the issue again in 1781, but once more the proposal was rejected by both the South Carolina and Georgia legislatures. When the slave South was faced with a struggle for survival during the Civil War it again steadfastly refused to use slave soldiers until the very last month of the war;

<sup>68</sup> Carl N. Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (Oct. 1959), 57, 64; see also Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1968), 71, 125-26. Jordan notes that free Negroes served in all the wars of colonial New England, but that few slaves served in any colonial militias.

<sup>69</sup> Ramos, *Negro in Brazil*, 157.

<sup>70</sup> Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford, Eng., 1957), 166-69; Cardoso, *Capitalismo e escravidão*, 153-54, n; Bastide, *Religions africaines au Brésil*, 109; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 401. Ianni (*Metamorfoses*, 175-76) cites an example of a slave being sent by his master to serve in place of a white man; after service, he was freed. Rodrigues (*Brazil and Africa*, 45-52) is one of several sources for the figure of twenty thousand slaves freed after the Paraguayan War.



indeed, the Confederacy rejected even free Negroes when they offered their services at the beginning of the war.<sup>71</sup>

That slaves in Brazil were often armed and that they rarely were in the United States is obviously a significant difference between the practices of slavery in the two places. To arm Negro slaves surely affects how one feels about Negroes, whether slave or free. As Octavio Ianni has observed, concerning the use of Negro slaves in the Paraguayan War, Brazilian whites could not help but obtain a new and larger view of Negro capabilities when blacks served as defenders of the nation.<sup>72</sup> How can this difference in practice be explained?

A part of the explanation is undoubtedly related to the quite dissimilar colonial histories of the two countries. Sixteenth-century Brazil was a tiny, sparsely settled colony, desperately clinging to the coast, yet attractive to foreign powers because of its wealth, actual and potential. At different times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the French and Dutch attempted to wrest the colony from Portugal by actual invasion. Since the mother country was too weak to offer much help, all the resources of the colony had to be mobilized for defense, which included every scrap of manpower, including slaves. The recourse to armed slaves, it is worth noticing, was undertaken reluctantly. For as Ramos writes, Negroes were first used only as a kind of advanced guard, being denied a place in the regular army during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But as the need for soldiers continued and a new generation of Brazilian-born Negroes entered the scene, the whites came to demand that they serve in the armed forces. That the acceptance of Negro troops was the result of circumstances rather than ideology is shown by the fact that the Negroes were usually segregated until the years of the Empire, and even when they were no longer set apart, "whites tended to occupy the military posts of major responsibility."<sup>73</sup> Use of Negroes in the colonial period was, therefore, not the result of the prior acceptance of the colored man as an equal, but of the need of him as a fighter. Throughout the eighteenth century, as before, the law *denied* Negroes and mulattoes the right to carry arms.<sup>74</sup>

In striking contrast is the history of the Negro in the British colonies of North America, where conditions and circumstances of settlement and development differed. In the first fifty years of settlement, when the necessities of defense might have encouraged the arming of slaves, there were very few blacks available. As is well known, in the South white indentured servants made up the great preponderance of the unfree labor supply until the end of the seventeenth cen-

<sup>71</sup> John Alden, *The First South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1961), 37-40; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1961), 60-67. Some slaves, however, were enlisted by their masters in the northern states, usually as substitutes. On the offer of blacks to support the Confederacy, see D. E. Everett, "Ben Butler and the Louisiana Native Guards, 1861-1862," *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (May 1958), 202-204.

<sup>72</sup> Ianni, *Metamorphoses*, 217.

<sup>73</sup> Ramos, *Negro in Brazil*, 151-54.

<sup>74</sup> Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, 52.



ture. Even at that time, in both Maryland and Virginia, Negroes constituted considerably less than one-fifth of the population. Meanwhile, the white population, servant and free, had long been more than adequate for purposes of defense. Unlike the situation in Brazil, moreover, colonial Englishmen experienced no foreign invasions and only an occasional foreign threat. In short, neither at the beginning nor at the close of the formative seventeenth century were English colonists under any pressure to use Negroes or slaves as defensive troops. As a consequence they could indulge their acute awareness of their difference in appearance, religion, and culture from Africans by permitting their social institutions to reflect this awareness. Thus in both the southern and northern colonies Negroes were resolutely kept from bearing arms. At one time, in 1652, Massachusetts had enlisted Indians and Negroes in the militia, but in 1656 this policy was reversed by the statement that "henceforth no negroes or Indians, altho servants of the English, shalbe armed or permitted to trayne." In 1660 Connecticut also excluded Indians and "negar servants" from the militia.<sup>75</sup>

There is one exception to the English colonists' attitudes toward the arming of slaves, but it is an exception that proves the rule. Early in the eighteenth century, when South Carolina was weak and threatened by Spanish invasion, slaves were required to be trained in the use of arms and included in an auxiliary militia.<sup>76</sup> The policy, however, was only temporary, since the colony was soon able to protect itself by dependence upon whites alone and the feared invasions did not materialize.

Further differences in attitudes toward Negroes and slaves in the US and in Brazil are the responses that the two societies made to the threat of slave insurrections. In both societies, it should be said, fear of slave revolts was widespread. One of the several measures that whites in the southern United States took to forestall slave insurrections was to place restrictions upon free Negroes, who were widely believed to be fomenters of slave conspiracies and revolts. Thus the uncovering in 1820 of a plot allegedly organized by the free Negro Denmark Vesey moved South Carolina and other southern states to enact new and stricter limitations on the free movement of Negroes. Fear of the free Negro as a potential instigator of slave revolts was also the principal reason for the many restrictions placed upon manumission in the southern states during the nineteenth century. The most common limitation was the requirement that all newly manumitted Negroes must leave the state. At the end of the ante bellum era several southern states so feared the influence of the free Negro that they enacted laws prohibiting manumission; at least one state passed a law requiring the enslave-

<sup>75</sup> *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. N. F. Shurteff (5 vols., Boston, 1853-54), III, 268, 397; *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut [1636-1776]* (15 vols., Hartford, Conn., 1850-1890), I, 349. See Jordan, *White over Black*, 122-28, for a survey of legal discrimination against free blacks in the English colonies of North America.

<sup>76</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1928), 87.

ment of all free Negroes found within the state after a certain date.<sup>77</sup> White society obviously saw a connection between the Negro slave and the free Negro; the important thing was not that one was free and the other a slave, but that both belonged to the same race.

In one sense, of course, Brazilian slavery was also racially based. Only Negroes, and, for a while, Indians, were slaves, though in Brazil, as in the US, there was an occasional slave who was fair-skinned and with blue eyes, so that he was a white in everything but status.<sup>78</sup> But in Brazil the connection between the inferior status of slavery and race did not persist into freedom to the same extent that it did in the United States. If slaveholders in the US viewed the free Negro as a potential threat to the slave system, their counterparts in Brazil saw him as a veritable prop to the system of slavery. Many, if not most of the *capitães de mato* (bush captains or slave catchers), for example, were mulattoes or Negroes. One nineteenth-century Brazilian asserted that two-thirds of the overseers, slave catchers, and slave dealers in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks. Moreover, many free blacks and mulattoes showed little if any interest in abolition, and some, evidently, actively opposed the end of slavery.<sup>79</sup> In Brazil, in other words, more important than race in differentiating between men was legal status. The mere fact that a man was a Negro or a mulatto offered no presumption that he would identify with slaves.

The refusal of Brazilians to lump together free Negroes and slaves is reflected also in their failure to justify slavery on grounds of race. For, contrary to the prevailing situation in the southern United States, in Brazil there was no important proslavery argument based upon the biological inferiority of the Negro. It is true that a racist conception of the black man existed in nineteenth-century Brazil,<sup>80</sup> but defenders of slavery on clearly racist grounds were rare among public supporters of the institution. A Brazilian historian has written that in the debates in the Brazilian legislature concerning the treaty with Britain in 1827 that closed the international slave trade, only one member of that body

<sup>77</sup> Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 232-35; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1947), 218-19.

<sup>78</sup> Freyre (*O Escravo nos anúncios de jornais brasileiros do século XIX*, 195) cites examples of light-colored slaves in the advertisements for runaways and refers to a royal order of 1773 in which it was said that, much to the shame of humanity and religion, there were slaves who were lighter than their owners, but who were called "Pretos e . . . negras." Freyre also cites an advertisement in a newspaper in 1865 in which the fugitive was described as having blond hair and blue eyes. Stamp (*Peculiar Institution*, 194) refers to blond, blue-eyed runaways in newspaper advertisements in the U. S.

<sup>79</sup> Williams, "Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," 327; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 29; Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 47, n.

<sup>80</sup> See Stein, *Vassouras*, 133-34; Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 354-55. Expilly provides probably the most explicit examples of racial arguments in defense of slavery. He quotes one slaveholder as saying that one could free slaves "today, and tomorrow, instead of using this freedom, they will rob and kill in order to satisfy their needs. Only by terror do they perform services. . . . I believe, gentlemen, Negroes would be baffled by freedom. God created them to be slaves." A little later, Expilly quotes the planter as saying, "The Africans represent an intermediate race between the gorilla and man. They are improved monkeys, not men." A priest is also cited as justifying slavery on the grounds that St. Thomas Aquinas claimed "that nature intended certain creatures for physical and moral reasons to be slaves." (Expilly, *Mulheres e costumes do Brasil*, 381-83.)

clearly asserted the racial inferiority of Negroes, though other kinds of defenses of slavery were made.<sup>81</sup> A French commentator in 1862 noted that in Brazil slaveholders "do not believe themselves obliged, like their American colleagues, to invent for the Negro a new original sin, nor to erect a system of absolute distinction between the races, nor to place an insurmountable barrier between the offspring of descendants of slaves and of those of free men."<sup>82</sup> The most common defenses of the system were the argument in behalf of property and the assertion that the prosperity of the country depended on slave labor. Some defenders of the institution, even late in the nineteenth century, spoke of it as a "necessary evil," as North Americans had done in the early years of the century. In 1886, as slavery in Brazil was coming under increasing attack from abolitionists, a member of the Brazilian Congress from the coffee district asserted that the planters in his area would have no objection to emancipation if they could be assured of a new, adequate supply of labor, presumably immigrants.<sup>83</sup> Even more dramatic is the fact that some of the principal leaders of the abolition movement who held elective office came from the slaveholding provinces of Brazil. No such willingness to contemplate the wholesale increase in the number of free blacks was thinkable in the slaveholding regions of the United States. Even defenders of slavery in nineteenth-century Brazil spoke of the absence of color prejudice in their country and noted with apparent approval the high position achieved by some Negroes and mulattoes.<sup>84</sup> Leaving aside the assertion that there was no prejudice in Brazil, one would find it difficult indeed to point to a slaveholder in the US in the middle of the nineteenth century who would utter publicly a similar statement of praise for free Negroes as a class.

What may be concluded from this examination of slavery in Brazil and the United States? That there were in fact differences in the practices of slavery in the two countries there can be no doubt. The explanation for those differences, however, as I have tried to show, is to be sought neither in the laws of the Crown nor in the attitude and practices of the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil. The behavior of neither state nor Church displayed any deep concern about the humanity of the slave, and, in any event, neither used its authority to affect significantly the life of the slave. Certainly demographic, economic, and geographic factors account for some of the differences between the two slave systems that have been explored in this essay. But these materialist explanations do not help us to understand the more interesting and profound difference that emerges from the comparison.

This difference becomes evident only as one contemplates the various

<sup>81</sup> Rodrigues, *Brazil and Africa*, 151.

<sup>82</sup> Reclus, "Brésil et la Colonisation," 386.

<sup>83</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 354-56; Cardoso, *Capitalismo e escravidão*, 280; Florestan Fernandes, *A Integração do negro na Sociedade de classes* (2 vols., São Paulo, 1965), I, 200, n.

<sup>84</sup> Da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 358.

specific differences in conjunction with one another. In Brazil the slave was feared, but the black man was not, while in the United States the black man as well as the slave was feared. Once this difference in attitude is recognized, certain differences between the two systems are recognized as stemming from a common source. Thus the willingness of Brazilians to manumit slaves much more freely than North Americans is clearly a result of their not fearing free blacks in great numbers. (Indeed, in Brazil today, a common explanation for the obviously greater acceptance of blacks in northeastern Brazil than in the southern part of the country is that in the North there is a greater proportion of Negroes than in the South. Just the opposite explanation, of course, is current in the US, where it is said that when Negroes constitute a large proportion of the population they are more likely to be tightly controlled or restricted.) Brazilians, therefore, did not restrict manumission in anything like the degree practiced in the slave states of the United States. This same difference in attitude toward the Negro is also evident in the willingness of Brazilian slaveholders to use blacks as slave catchers and overseers, while in the US slaveholders in particular and white men in general could scarcely entertain the idea. Finally, this difference emerges when one asks why the slave trade remained open in Brazil to 1851, but was closed in most of the United States before the end of the eighteenth century. Even before the Revolution, in fact, Englishmen in North America had been seeking ways to limit the number of blacks in their midst, free or slave. In 1772, for example, the Virginia legislature asked the Crown to permit it to check the slave traffic since "The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its *present encouragement*, we have too much reason to fear, *will endanger the very* existence of your Majesty's American dominions. . . ." This fear that an unimpeded slave trade was dangerous ran through the history of all the English colonies, especially that of South Carolina. One of colonial South Carolina's several laws calling for limitation on the slave trade advocated encouragement to white immigration as "the best way to prevent the mischiefs that may be attended by the great importation of negroes into the province. . . ." In 1786 North Carolina placed a tax on slaves on the ground that "the importation of slaves into this state is productive of evil consequences, and highly impolitic."<sup>85</sup> The widespread fear of Negroes also explains why all but one of the states prohibited the importation of slaves years before the federal prohibition in 1808. Certainly there was a humanitarian motive behind the movement to stop the African slave trade, but also of great importance was the fear that if

<sup>85</sup> W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Suppressions of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York, 1896), 221, 215, 229. The appendix to this work contains a number of other excerpts from colonial statutes to the same effect. Don B. Kates, Jr., "Abolition, Deportation, Integration: Attitudes toward Slavery in the Early Republic," *Journal of Negro History*, LIII (Jan. 1968), 33-47, contains a number of expressions by white Americans of their opposition to freed Negroes remaining in the United States.

the importations were not limited or stopped white men would be overwhelmed by black. For as the founding and the work of the American Colonization Society in the nineteenth century reveal, even those people in the slave states who conscientiously opposed slavery did not want the Negro as a free man in the United States.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the slave trade came to an end principally because of pressures from *outside* the society. For a quarter of a century before 1851 the British government badgered the Brazilians to put an end to the trade. It is easy to believe that without the pressure from the British and the humiliating infringements of Brazilian sovereignty by ships of the Royal Navy the Brazilians would have kept the slave trade open even longer. Apparently Brazilians rarely worried, as did the North Americans, that they would be overwhelmed by blacks.

This article opened with the observation that Tannenbaum's work began a long and continuing scholarly debate over the role that slavery in North and South America had played in bringing about a different place for the Negro in the societies of the Western Hemisphere. If the evidence and argument of this essay are sound, then the explanations of the differences offered by Tannenbaum and Elkins, at least as far as Brazil is concerned, are not supported by the evidence. But if Tannenbaum's explanation has to be abandoned, his belief that there was a strikingly different attitude toward blacks in Brazil from that in the United States has not been challenged at all. Rather it has been reinforced. For if factors like demography, geography, and the continuance of the international slave trade in Brazil help to account for some of the differences in the practices of slavery in the two societies, those same factors do not really aid us in explaining why Brazilians feared slaves but not blacks, while North Americans feared both. What is now needed is a more searching and fundamental explanation than can be derived from these factors alone or found in the practices or laws of state and church regarding the slave. Clearly that explanation will have to be sought in more subtle and elusive places, such as among the inherited cultural patterns and social structures and values of the two countries. For it is the argument of this article that the differences between Brazilian and United States slavery, rather than being the sources of the different patterns of race relations in the two countries are, in fact, merely the consequence themselves of deeper divergences in the culture and history of the two peoples.

# Fascist Modernization in Italy: Traditional or Revolutionary?

ROLAND SARTI

FASCISM came to power in Italy with a program calculated to avoid political identification with either Right or Left. Mussolini's intention in boasting of Fascist indifference to ideology was to stress that Fascism would deal with the urgent problems of the moment without restrictive ideological preconceptions. Fascism invoked the restoration of law and order largely as a necessary condition for the successful pursuit of a progressive, modernizing course in Italian politics. Although a potentially strong antimaterialistic bias was always present in Fascism, the movement initially endorsed with few reservations the materialistic concept of progress prevalent in Western society. Like virtually all contemporary political movements, it promised above all a rapid modernization of society—modernization being defined in terms of the acquisition or expansion of scarce organizational capacities, technological skills, and personality traits without which human and natural resources cannot be utilized efficiently. Two distinguishing characteristics of the *homo fascistus* were a supposed mastery of the complexities of technology and a selfless identification with the discipline of industrial production.

The unresolved problem of Fascism was procedural rather than substantive. Should Fascism pursue its program of modernization within the institutional framework inherited from the liberal state or should it experiment with novel institutions having little or no precedent in the historical past? Should it concentrate on revitalizing traditional institutions or should it embark boldly on a more revolutionary course? In this respect, the dilemma confronting Fascism was not essentially different from that confronting present-day underdeveloped societies.<sup>1</sup>

Understanding of the historical roots of Fascism has suffered from a failure to recognize the importance of the progressive impulses behind it. Historians

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<sup>1</sup> C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York, 1966), 46, writes that modernization can be described as a process whereby "traditional institutions are adapted to modern functions." A description of modernization that is even more appropriate for Italian Fascism is given by Samuel N. Eisenstadt, *Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development* (The Hague, 1961), 14, when he defines it as follows: "on the one hand, attempts were made to establish broad, modern, administrative, political, and economic settings, while on the other, these changes were to be limited and based on relatively unchanged sub-groups and on traditional attitudes and loyalties."



have more often than not stressed its antimodernist thrust. In one of the earliest attempts to develop a general interpretation of the then new phenomenon, the liberal historian Luigi Salvatorelli suggested that Fascism was the expression of resentments aroused when a lower bourgeoisie steeped in humanistic culture was suddenly confronted by a technological society threatening established values and traditional social relationships.<sup>2</sup> More recent interpretations have continued in much the same vein. Ernst Nolte sees Fascism as a betrayal of the more promising possibilities of the bourgeois revolution by the reactionary segment of the bourgeoisie. Nolte concludes that "fascism has at its command forces which are born of the emancipation process and then turn against their own origin."<sup>3</sup> On a less abstract level, and with specific reference to German Nazism, Wolfgang Sauer argues that "Fascism is a revolt of the *déclassés*" "who lost—directly or indirectly, temporarily or permanently—by industrialization."<sup>4</sup> A fourth variant of the antimodernist interpretation of Fascism sees it as one of several possible alternatives to modernization, but an alternative resting on a compromise between traditionalist agrarian elements and innovating industrial and commercial entrepreneurs. From this last perspective, Fascism appears as an attempt "to modernize without changing . . . social structures."<sup>5</sup>

Special mention must be made of the recent article by Professor Edward R. Tannenbaum, which appeared after my article had been written and submitted for publication. Tannenbaum's observations supplement in many ways the arguments presented here. First of all, he confutes the prevalent and misleading tendency to explain the rise of Fascism as the triumph of mindless social reaction. He concludes that the goal of Italian Fascists was "not *counter*revolution but *another* revolution."<sup>6</sup> The value of this observation is that it tells us how Fascism appeared to contemporary observers who could not anticipate the ultimately disastrous consequences of the Fascist revolution. If we fail to take into account the contemporary image of Fascism, our understanding of how it came to power and how it developed subsequently is bound to be incomplete and distorted.

Tannenbaum also properly stresses the diversity of goals and ideologies found within Italian Fascism. In so doing, he draws attention to some of the

<sup>2</sup> Luigi Salvatorelli, *Nazionalfascismo* (Turin, 1923). Salvatorelli's interpretation was challenged by Giovanni Ansaldo, who argued that Fascism appealed primarily to a "technical" bourgeoisie composed of business administrators, engineers, and technicians whose hostility to humanistic rhetoric, ideological debate, and contempt for "unproductive" bureaucrats drew them irresistibly to the new movement. Ansaldo accused them of being infected with a "sloppy Americanism." Highlights of this debate have been reprinted in *Antologia della "Rivoluzione Liberale,"* ed. Nino Valeri (Turin, 1948), 417–22.

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York, 1966), 453.

<sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Sauer, "National Socialism: Totalitarianism or Fascism?" *American Historical Review*, LXXIII (Dec. 1967), 417.

<sup>5</sup> Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), 442.

<sup>6</sup> Edward R. Tannenbaum, "The Goals of Italian Fascism," *American Historical Review*, LXXIV (Apr. 1969), 1183–1204, esp. 1204.



issues and personalities discussed in this article, issues and personalities that reflected the progressive, modernizing side of Italian Fascism. No one can take exception to Tannenbaum's observation that these progressive elements were repeatedly frustrated in their efforts to launch the famous "second wave" of the Fascist revolution.

But, and this is where the two studies differ, to recognize that these progressive elements were never dominant is not the same as granting that they had no influence on the development of Italian Fascism. It will be argued here that modernizing impulses, far from being tangential, were at the very core of the Fascist experience in Italy. The fact that Fascist revolutionists and modernizers never attained their goals as originally defined is no proof of their irrelevance. What has to be explained is how these modernizing aspirations interacted with pressures from inside and outside the Fascist party to create the unique economic and social profile of Fascist Italy. In other words, we are discussing the ecology of Italian Fascism, and ecologists warn that it is dangerous to underestimate the importance of even the most minute and seemingly unimportant organisms.

The dynamics of Fascist reform are extremely complicated, largely because Fascist politics cut across class lines.<sup>7</sup> Not only was Fascism a socially heterogeneous movement; it also rarely hesitated to carry on a dialogue with outside vested interest groups. These vested interests, particularly the monarchy, Parliament, the army, the Church, and big business, while politically extraneous to Fascism, managed nevertheless to operate within it and around it with the intention of deflecting Fascist efforts from their stated goals.

Consequently, conservative, reformist, and revolutionary impulses interacted within Fascism and left their mark upon it. The outcome of this interaction was determined primarily by the manner in which Fascism came to power and by the nature of the Fascist leadership. Mussolini's march on Rome was successful because under his leadership Fascism accepted a compromise with established interest groups and institutions. For instance, the movement was born vociferously republican, but found it expedient on its way to power to accommodate itself to the monarchy. Once the party was in power, its efforts at reform oscillated between traditionalism and experimentalism. On the one hand, it promised progress by the rejuvenation of such established institutions as the monarchy, the bureaucracy, private business, and even the much-criticized Parliament. On the other, it invoked syndical and corporative innovations which, if carried to their logical conclusions, would have altered drastically the profile of Italian society. Those Fascists who were sincerely committed to a radical transformation of society would soon discover that the heterogeneous composition of Fascism, Mussolini's political flexibility,

<sup>7</sup> The social heterogeneity of Fascism was recognized at once by contemporary observers. (See, e.g., Giovanni Zibordi, "Critica socialista del fascismo," in *Il fascismo visto da repubblicani e socialisti* [Bologna, 1922], 10-11.)

and the resulting tendency to come to more or less amicable understandings with vested interests placed frustrating restrictions on their freedom of action.

In its inability to choose unequivocally either pragmatic reform of existing structures or a more thoroughgoing revolutionary approach, Fascism continued a well-established practice in Italian politics. Here is the Fascist equivalent of the political *trasformismo* associated with pre-Fascist Italy. In the period 1900-1914, when political life in Italy was dominated by Premier Giovanni Giolitti, the country made impressive economic gains.<sup>8</sup> Endowed with exceptional administrative ability, Giolitti shied away from ideological controversy. He too can be described as a political pragmatist who preferred to take up issues one by one as they thrust themselves into public attention. Since he also sought to govern with the maximum consensus achievable, he was compelled from time to time to make concessions to a variety of interest groups across the political spectrum. He courted big business by accepting economic protectionism, extending tax incentives, and favoring the formation of cartels on a limited scale. At the same time, he attempted to placate labor by adopting governmental neutrality in labor conflicts in order to strengthen organized labor's bargaining capacity, thereby hoping to gain the support of the reformist socialist and trade-union leadership.<sup>9</sup> It was a valiant and partially successful effort to encourage economic development by administrative procedure within the framework of economic and political liberalism.

More radical approaches to the problem of reform were not lacking. Francesco Saverio Nitti, a professor of economics at the University of Naples who was also a chief spokesman for the small but influential Radical party in the first decade of the century, outlined a rationally planned development of the national economy. His program for modernization envisaged the intensification of technical instruction, pruning the unwieldy and costly bureaucracy to liberate capital resources for industrial investments, and more efficient utilization of natural resources, particularly the country's extensive hydroelectric potential. German cartels provided Nitti with an organizational model as far as the private sector was concerned.<sup>10</sup> His social and economic wisdom reduced itself to a conventional injunction to "produce more and consume less," a formula subsequently adopted by Fascism.

Nitti's approach to modernization anticipated the Fascist program not only in its emphasis upon economic production but also in the political mechanics suggested to facilitate its implementation. Like the Fascists, Nitti looked upon the political process as a potentially serious obstacle to reform. Both political maneuvering and ideological controversy were seen as irritating stumbling

<sup>8</sup> Maurice F. Neufeld, *Italy: School for Awakening Countries* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1961), 289-315; see also Rosario Romeo, "La rivoluzione industriale dell'età giolittiana," in *La formazione dell'Italia industriale*, ed. Alberto Caracciolo (Bari, 1963), 165-83.

<sup>9</sup> Giampiero Carocci, *Giolitti e l'età giolittiana* (Turin, 1961), 36-38, 48-54, 58-60, 74-75.

<sup>10</sup> Francesco S. Nitti, *Il partito radicale e la nuova democrazia industriale: Prime linee di un programma del partito radicale* (Turin, 1907), 29, 69-78.

blocks. Nitti hoped that the Radical party might serve as a rallying point for moderate Socialists, trade unionists, and progressive liberals. Such a coalition would cut across ideological lines and would relegate both rigid Marxists and unrepentant traditionalists to the political side lines. Although Nitti professed allegiance to such traditional institutions as Parliament and the monarchy, he accepted them only as means to an end. From Nitti's point of view political democracy was desirable only because he believed that in the long run it would provide the quickest route to modernization.<sup>11</sup> Where the politicians failed, the technocrats must take over. Nitti was fond of posing as a new type of leader endowed with the technical *expertise* necessary to propel the country into the age of technology and industrial democracy. While Giolitti's concerns were primarily political, Nitti's were primarily administrative and economic. In the years 1919-1922 Nitti and the Fascists would be poles apart as far as foreign policy was concerned, but when it came to domestic reform their similarity was substantial.

Nitti stressed that "purely economic problems are far more important than those concerning distribution."<sup>12</sup> In this respect he was also in basic agreement with the more restless and forward-looking segment of the business leadership. Some business groups such as growers of wheat and sugar beets and textile manufacturers who enjoyed sufficient protection under existing tariff laws seemed substantially content with the *status quo*. Discontent was more widespread among those in manufacturing activities of more recent origin such as the steel, automobile, and electrical industries, which were more exposed to foreign competition and felt noticeably ill at ease in an economic system characterized by the fragmentation of ownership and management and by a low level of technological education.<sup>13</sup> Their views were expressed cogently by Ettore Conti, one of the founders of the Italian electrical industry, who stressed that government policy must aim first of all at encouraging the accumulation of capital regardless of immediate social consequences.<sup>14</sup>

Business pressure groups proliferated throughout the industrialized areas of the country, particularly in the years 1906-1910. Usually they were established at the initiative of representatives of the new industries for the express purposes of creating a united employers' front against organized labor and increasing the political pressure of business on government.<sup>15</sup> Like Nitti, they occasionally invoked the advent of a new technocratic leadership sufficiently versed in the problems of production to avoid the allegedly wasteful social and economic com-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-96, 115-16, 144.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>13</sup> Bruno Caizzi, *Storia dell'industria italiana dal XVIII secolo ai giorni nostri* (Turin, 1965), 359.

<sup>14</sup> Ettore Conti, *Dal taccuino di un borghese* (Milan, 1946), 21.

<sup>15</sup> Gino Olivetti, "L'organizzazione sindacale degli industriali in Italia," *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, VIII (Oct. 15, 1928), 225; see also Leo Vidotto, *L'organizzazione industriale lombarda nell'ultimo cinquantennio* (Milan, 1959), 29-39.

promises associated with Giolittian democracy.<sup>16</sup> To the extent that their views implied a repudiation of the classical liberal distinction between politics and economics, they suggested an elitist concept of leadership more in tune with the doctrines of the Comte de Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte than with those of Adam Smith.

What was implicit in the views of Nitti and of some business leaders became fully explicit in the thinking of new nationalists bent on casting Italy into the role of an aggressive Great Power.<sup>17</sup> These new nationalists, whose most articulate spokesman was perhaps Enrico Corradini, bore little resemblance to their nineteenth-century predecessors who had achieved the country's unification. Giuseppe Mazzini's faith in the fulfillment of human rights by means of the national state had given way in their thinking to a stark social Darwinist view of international relations.<sup>18</sup> This commitment to economic and political imperialism brought the new nationalists face to face with the most urgent domestic problems of the moment. If the country remained economically weak and socially divided internally, how could it hope to succeed abroad? Their remedy for economic weakness was an unconvincing and naïve enthusiasm for higher economic protectionism to enable national producers in heavy industry to develop the economic muscle necessary to support a more dynamic foreign policy. By a stretch of the imagination one can perhaps see here the thinking behind the future Fascist policy of autarchy. But the real connecting link between nationalist and Fascist thought emerges from the social theories elaborated by nationalist theoreticians interested in developing a new institutional framework to facilitate the solution of class conflicts.

Filippo Carli and Alfredo Rocco, the latter destined to become Mussolini's Minister of Justice from January 1925 to July 1932 and unquestionably the leading theoretician of the Fascist state, presented a paper at the nationalist congress of May 1914 that outlined all the basic postulates of what would eventually become Fascist corporatism. In addition to demanding the expansion of industries related to the production of armaments, they invoked the solidarity of all the forces of production to be achieved by government recognition of official work-

<sup>16</sup> On the thinking behind the drive to organize business, see Conti, *Dal taccuino di un borghese*, 77-78, and *L'Informazione Industriale*, XII (Sept. 12, 1956), 1. The parallel drawn here between Nitti's views and those of some industrial leaders is not meant to suggest that Nitti's relationship with industry was always cordial. In the postwar period Nitti was embroiled in disputes with a number of prominent business personalities such as the Crespi family of Milan (textiles) and the directors of the *Banca Commerciale Italiana* of that same city. At the same time, however, he maintained temporarily close contacts with Pio and Mario Perrone of Ansaldo, the country's leading heavy industrial complex. The Perrone brothers stood for the kind of aggressive, innovating industrial capitalism favored by Nitti. (See Alberto Monticone, *Nitti e la grande guerra, 1914-1918* [Milan, 1961], 199-208, 216-19, 225, 240, 246-53.)

<sup>17</sup> Rumors that the nationalist press was financed by heavy industry have always been current in Italy. (See Alberto Morandi, *Storia della grande industria in Italia* [Turin, 1960], 149.) On Nitti and the nationalists, see Paolo Ungari, *Alfredo Rocco e l'ideologia giuridica del fascismo* (Brescia, 1963), 30, n. 15.

<sup>18</sup> For a general discussion of the new nationalism in Italy, see Salvatore Saladino, "Italy," in *The European Right: A Historical Profile*, ed. Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), 208-60.

ers' and employers' syndicates.<sup>19</sup> Political labels do not apply easily to a movement of this kind. Since it was irreconcilably opposed to Marxist socialism, it usually has been relegated to the reactionary Right. But nationalists objected primarily to the internationalism of Marxist thought, not its commitment to industrialization or its concern with social justice. In the context of the liberal state, nationalist thought was as subversive in its commitment to a radical restructuring of the state as was revolutionary Marxism.

The striking similarities in the ideologies of nationalist and revolutionary syndicalist movements provide another example of how distinctions between Right and Left are often blurred in politics. Italian revolutionary syndicalists like Angelo Oliviero Olivetti, Filippo Corridoni, Alceste De Ambris, and Edmondo Rossoni also accepted the idea of social revolution within the framework of the national state. The main difference between nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism was perhaps simply one of temperament and method, with the nationalists committed to a legalistic view of change and the syndicalists, true to their Sorelian outlook, oriented instead toward revolutionary violence.<sup>20</sup> Both developed, in substance, a theory of integral syndicalism or corporatism (their terminology was always confused) whereby the representation of capital and labor would be institutionalized, and the two antagonists would eventually sit side by side in the same associations. The proponents of both nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism eventually agreed that the corporations ought to become the basis of political representation, thereby eliminating the existing dichotomy between economic and political leadership. When nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism eventually converged into Fascism, they brought to it an awareness of contemporary realities and a disposition to think in terms of total solutions.

Here lies the essential difference between Giolitti's and Nitti's approach to modernization and that of the new nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism. Giolitti, Nitti, and their allies pursued modernization within the framework of the liberal state, while nationalists and syndicalists were inclined to experiment with novel forms of social and political organization. Both approaches entered the mainstream of Fascist thought where they coexisted in uneasy balance.

The historical configuration of Italian Fascism had thus taken form long before the founding of Mussolini's *fasci di combattimento* in March 1919. The essential features of this configuration had emerged separately as a reflection of the country's drive toward modernization. These features can be related partly to the political style of a pragmatist like Giolitti who skirted ideological debate to concentrate instead on specific problems, partly to the ideas of a technocratic

<sup>19</sup> Gianfranco Bianchi, *Aspetti del "protofascismo" in Italia* (Milan, 1967), 127.

<sup>20</sup> On the differences between nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism, see Luigi Federzoni, *Italia di ieri per la storia di domani* (Verona, 1967), 15-19. On the revolutionary syndicalists, see Jack J. Roth, "The Roots of Italian Fascism: Sorel and Sorelismo," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIX (Mar. 1967), 30-45.

reformer like Nitti, partly to the aspirations current in business circles for a renovation of the political leadership, and, most of all, to the new nationalism with its admiration for the world of technology, its doctrines of social solidarity, and its economic and political expansionism. With the exception of theoreticians like Rocco, these individuals and groups shared an aversion for abstract ideological debate. They suggested, with varying degrees of coherence, that the solution to the nation's problems was to be found in competent administration and in the acquisition of scarce technical skills. In this respect they anticipated Fascism's boasted indifference to ideology and its commitment to pragmatic activism. This is not to suggest that Giolitti and Nitti were precursors of Fascism; a wide gap separated them from the Fascists. They expressed, nevertheless, responses to the challenges of modernization that would eventually be incorporated into the rhetoric of Fascism. What is suggested is a similarity of technique, not a community of values.

The reformist aspirations discussed above had a powerful attraction for Mussolini. In spite of his break with the Socialist party in October 1914, Mussolini continued to think of himself as a genuine socialist revolutionary. He justified his conversion from neutralism to interventionism on the ground that the war would accelerate the advent of revolution. As he saw it, the difference between himself and his former socialist comrades was one of tactics, not of principle. But, as the war progressed, the rift between Mussolini and socialism widened. The decisive break apparently occurred in the wake of the Battle of Caporetto in October 1917.<sup>21</sup> In the following weeks Mussolini quickly outlined the basic features of his future program. He intensified his attacks on liberal institutions in general and on Parliament in particular because of alleged incompetence and indecisiveness. He reacted violently against socialists who were still opposed to the war and urged the government to silence them. What is most significant, he called for a new elite of *combattenti e produttori* (fighters and producers) to seize political initiative from inept politicians.

The slogan "fighters and producers" expressed a convenient and promising political formula: it coupled the fashionable *mystique* of war and aggressive individualism with a seemingly politically neutral economic productivism. In reality, Mussolini's productivism was anything but politically neutral. Productivism enabled Mussolini to abandon socialism with at least a minimum of grace. The political line to which he remained faithful from then on was that producers were all those members of society who performed a useful economic function regardless of class affiliation. To defend production meant to combat only the economically idle. Only the expansion of production could bring about a lasting improvement in the workers' standard of living. It was therefore in the inter-

<sup>21</sup> Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario, 1883-1920* (Turin, 1965), 393-400, 405-18.



ests of the workers to cooperate with the entrepreneurial and managerial classes, whose function was far from being exhausted.<sup>22</sup>

The political advantages of the doctrine of productivism were great. It enabled Mussolini to move in the direction of business without having to take a stand against labor. It implied continuity without excluding change. It suggested a disposition to avoid ideological debate and political compromise in favor of energetic action on specific problems. Productivism gave Mussolini an enviable latitude in political maneuvering. He could speak out in favor of land reform and assert at the same time that the land must be turned over only to those who could work it most efficiently. He could reject socialism, but support social reform; he could also express a desire to work both with innovators and traditionalists, to second this or that government on specific issues without committing himself irrevocably to any group or course of action, and to do all this without losing at least the semblance of coherence.<sup>23</sup> With productivism he escaped the confinements of ideology and reinforced his image as a new type of leader more concerned with what was happening on the production line than in the halls of Parliament.

The failure of the workers' occupation of the factories in September 1920 convinced Mussolini that the time had come to tone down some of the more radical (or demagogic) points of the initial Fascist program of 1919. From then on, the slogan *largo alle competenze* (make way for the competent) became a constant refrain of Fascist propaganda. It made explicit much that was implicit in the formula of productivism. It promised an end to political and administrative incompetence, a complete rejuvenation of the political leadership, and a hierarchical structure of power. Authority and direction would emanate from competent elites rather than from the incompetent masses. Fascism seemed to promise both law and order and imaginative change. Such a synthesis appealed strongly both to reformist liberals and to disenchanted revolutionaries. Among the economic liberals attracted to Fascism at this time were economists like Maffeo Pantaleoni, who had been Gabriele D'Annunzio's Minister of Finances in Fiume, and Alberto De Stefani, who would be Mussolini's Minister of Finances from October 1922 to July 1925. More cautious liberals like Luigi Albertini, Benedetto Croce, and Luigi Einaudi became Fascist sympathizers.

Support also came from other points on the political spectrum. The Nationalist party retained its own separate identity until March 1923, but ran nevertheless on a political course parallel to that of Fascism. From the Left Wing of Italian politics came Massimo Rocca, a former anarchist who believed that Fascism would eliminate inept politicians and give power to skilled elites drawn

<sup>22</sup> *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini*, ed. Edoardo and Duilio Susmel (36 vols., Florence, 1951-1963), XI, 270-72, 282-84.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 212-13, 229-30, 242-43, 251, 324.



from labor and from the productive bourgeoisie.<sup>24</sup> From revolutionary syndicalism came Edmondo Rossoni, who would lead the Fascist labor movement until his forced resignation in December 1928.<sup>25</sup> From futurism came Giuseppe Bottai, who developed a reputation as the bright young man of Fascism and was Minister of Corporations from September 1929 to July 1932. Bottai argued that the historical function of Fascism was to create and give political power to a new managerial class free from the class prejudices of the existing ruling class.<sup>26</sup> One might argue that the only groups still actively opposed to Fascism by October 1922 were dedicated Marxists, the majority of organized labor (which always suspected that Mussolini was a paid stooge of business), scattered intellectuals, and some Catholic political leaders.

This is not to suggest that there was general agreement among Fascists about the nature and aims of their revolution. The extremely heterogeneous composition of Fascism precluded the possibility of consensus. Mussolini was the logical leader precisely because he was a consummate political tactician with a real talent for improvising, temporizing, and compromising. Unfortunately for Fascism, he lacked the ability to plan and organize carefully.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, from October 1922 to the beginning of 1925, largely under De Stefani's steady guidance, it seemed as if Fascism was sincerely bent on fulfilling its promises of domestic reform.

De Stefani's reforms are familiar to every student of Fascist Italy and need not be discussed here.<sup>28</sup> An often neglected side of these reforms, however, provides an early illustration of how all Fascist reforms operated ambiguously on two different levels. De Stefani's stated aims were to balance the budget and increase the operational efficiency of the public administration. In line with these objectives, the size of the civil service was reduced, and a number of government agencies were eliminated. Of the 65,000 civil service positions eliminated by April 1924, the largest loss was among railroad employees, who in previous years had exasperated middle-class sensitivity by their tendency to strike frequently and unpredictably.<sup>29</sup> The most spectacular casualty among the eliminated agencies was the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, which had been labor's stronghold in the public administration. Its functions were first transferred to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, which was dominated by organized business. Labor and welfare subsequently fell under the jurisdiction of the new Ministry of the National Economy, formed in September 1923 when all serv-

<sup>24</sup> Rocca had long argued that the first duty of the worker was to expand production, and Mussolini had agreed with him on this point as early as 1911. (*Ibid.*, IV, 77-79.)

<sup>25</sup> Edmondo Rossoni, *Le idee della ricostruzione: Discorsi sul sindacalismo fascista* (Florence, 1923).

<sup>26</sup> Giuseppe Bottai's ideas are outlined in his *Esperienza corporativa (1929-1935)* (Florence, 1935).

<sup>27</sup> On Mussolini's inadequacies as a leader, see Alberto Aquarone, "L'altro Mussolini," *Il Mondo*, July 16, 1963, 15-16.

<sup>28</sup> See Shepard B. Clough, *The Economic History of Modern Italy* (New York, 1964), 223-24. A hostile review of these reforms appears in Ernesto Rossi, *Padroni del vapore e fascismo* (Bari, 1966), 75-84.

<sup>29</sup> Alberto Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario* (Turin, 1965), 5-11.

ices in agriculture, commerce, industry, and labor were united. A two-thirds majority of businessmen dominated the steering body of the new ministry.<sup>30</sup> It seems clear that definite political pressures were at work under cover of financial and administrative reform.

Substantial improvements were achieved in spite of these pressures. The budget was balanced, and the national economy made considerable gains in the period 1922-1925. Genuine experts were often given an important role. Agricultural reform was entrusted to Arrigo Serpieri, a technician of unquestioned value, in spite of his having been an active opponent of Fascism in the past. The reorganization of the Ministry of Public Works included recruiting civil engineers to evaluate public projects and to bring the government's attention to regional diversities and local needs. Statistics on rural dwellings were gathered, procedures in courts of law were standardized, a reorganization of the cumbersome banking system was begun, and anachronistic duties levied by municipal administrations on commercial traffic were abolished.

Mussolini felt that these achievements were far short of his goals. He told his collaborators that the march on Rome had not been carried out simply "to engage in ordinary administration."<sup>31</sup> In spite of his yearning for more radical innovations, he showed little appreciation for collaborators with long-range plans; Rocca's experience is indicative of the obstacles confronting them. Rocca urged Mussolini to promote the rise of new elites from the working class, to make the school system more democratic by providing the opportunity for advancement for the best qualified regardless of social extraction, and to increase productivity by drastic reform of the apparatus of production.<sup>32</sup> He called, more specifically, for the formation of technical councils (*consigli tecnici*, also known as *gruppi di competenza*); their brief and ephemeral history has already been told.<sup>33</sup> It was their purpose to open channels of communication between the political leadership and the bureaucracy on the one hand and the technical-managerial elites on the other. Rocca and his collaborators hoped that the councils would be the incubators of a new Fascist leadership capable of bringing technical *expertise* to bear on problems of labor and public administration. To the extent that they were designed to instruct the workers about the complexities and economic necessities of production, they resembled the socialist factory councils whose future was still undecided in 1921 when Rocca first formulated his suggestion.<sup>34</sup>

As far as Mussolini was concerned, the councils were just another pawn in

<sup>30</sup> *Confederazione Generale dell'Industria Italiana* [hereafter cited as CGII] *Annuario 1924* (Rome, 1924), 283-86; see also the journal published by the CGII, *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, II (Dec. 1, 1922), I, IV (Feb. 1, 1924), 2; and the daily of the General Confederation of Italian Commerce, *Il Sole*, Feb. 1, Apr. 14-15, May 9, 1924.

<sup>31</sup> Massimo Rocca, *Come il fascismo divenne una dittatura* (Milan, 1952), 130.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>33</sup> Alberto Aquarone, "Aspirazioni tecnocratiche del primo fascismo," *Nord e Sud*, XI (Apr. 1964), 109-28.

<sup>34</sup> On the socialist councils, see John M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford, Calif., 1967), 71-95.

the political game. The Fascist leadership had accepted them originally because it hoped to use them in breaking up strikes, particularly in public transportation, and because they might enable the party to operate autonomously in case of civil war.<sup>35</sup> Mussolini showed little appreciation for their long-range possibilities. The councils flourished as long as Rocca avoided political controversy; their undoing began when Rocca became involved in September 1923 in a dispute with the powerful Fascist boss of Cremona, Roberto Farinacci. The *ras* (Fascist political bosses in the provinces) had resented the councils from the beginning. They clamored for the launching of the "second wave" of the Fascist revolution, without specifying what this wave was supposed to accomplish beyond eliminating what remained of the socialist and liberal opposition to Fascism. Mussolini still hoped that Fascism might win over more of its opponents and rule on the basis of a broader coalition including Liberals and reformist socialists. For this reason he resisted the demands of the intransigent Fascists. Bottai, Rocca, and other revisionists who believed that their reforms could be realized best in an atmosphere of national reconciliation supported him. But although Mussolini at first sided with Rocca and Bottai, he realized quickly that he could not dispense with the support of the intransigent *ras* who controlled the local organizations. He played his role of mediator with customary adroitness. After using the revisionists to intimidate the intransigents, he conciliated the intransigents by agreeing in May 1924 to Rocca's expulsion from the party.<sup>36</sup> With Rocca's disappearance from the political scene, his technical councils simply withered away.

The defeat of the technical councils represents Mussolini's first failure after the march on Rome to give Fascism unity of direction. The lack of homogeneity within Fascism brought about this failure. Outside groups had actually looked upon Rocca's projects with some sympathy. Antonio Stefano Benni, president of the *Confederazione Generale dell'Industria Italiana* (CGII), the most powerful business pressure group in the country, had been willing to cooperate with the councils. The CGII had merely taken steps to ensure that business would be represented in the councils by reliable elements.<sup>37</sup> The business leadership did not feel threatened by Rocca, who, after all, had no popular following and was mainly concerned with drawing Fascism closer to technical elites who had already internalized the capitalist ethic.

Organized business reacted with far greater hostility to Rossoni's plans which aimed at incorporating the masses into the fabric of Fascism. Rossoni intended to gain a monopoly over the representation of business and labor by organizing both sides within the General Fascist Confederation of Syndical Corporations—the first step toward the realization of corporatism and the fulfillment of the

<sup>35</sup> Camillo Pellizzi, *Una rivoluzione mancata* (Milan, 1949), 35–36.

<sup>36</sup> Massimo Rocca, *Il primo fascismo* (Rome, 1964), 103–10; see also Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista* (2 vols., Turin, 1966–68), I, 539–54.

<sup>37</sup> CGII, Circular 351, dated Sept. 10, 1923. From Vol. II of a collection of mimeographed circulars to the membership available in the library of the CGII in Rome.

Fascist revolution. Business had no intention of taking such a leap in the dark and was dismayed at the prospect of losing its organizational autonomy. In dealing with Fascism business leaders adhered to the tactic of never rejecting a proposal in principle; they concentrated instead on delaying its implementation until they were satisfied that the new step would not seriously endanger their independence. This is precisely what they did with Rossoni. The Pact of Palazzo Chigi of December 1923 between the CGII and Rossoni's Confederation of Syndical Corporations postponed the advent of the mixed syndicates and the corporations to the indefinite future.<sup>38</sup>

The next step in the evolution of the Fascist state occurred only after the settlement of the Giacomo Matteotti crisis in January 1925. A syndical reform was finally legislated in April-July 1926. Again, this turned out to be more of a hindrance than an aid to the realization of the corporate state. It provided for the official recognition and, as it turned out, the perpetuation of separate workers' and employers' syndicates, a division totally alien to the spirit of corporatism. It also placed the labor syndicates at a serious disadvantage in dealing with business. Although each side enjoyed complete juridical equality, the employers had the advantage of being represented by their old trade organizations and by a capable leadership of their choice. Far from being weakened, their associations increased in power and prestige, since those firms that before the official recognition had chosen to stay away from them were now forced to join. The labor syndicates, on the other hand, were hampered by a lack of trained organizers and by excessive bureaucratization. They seemed better suited to keeping the workers in line than to representing them effectively in labor negotiations.<sup>39</sup>

The slow evolution of reforms encouraged the rise of conflicting points of view within the revolutionary wing of Fascism over the structure and function of the new institutions. Whereas before the reforms of 1926 the terms "syndicalism" and "corporatism" had hardly been differentiated, after the reforms they came to designate two contrasting currents. Advocates of syndicalism argued for the retention and perpetuation of the dualism of the syndical system. From their point of view, separate and autonomous parallel associations of workers and employers were highly beneficial in that they facilitated the identification and solution of inevitable conflicts of interest between these two groups. The corporatists, on the other hand, wished to submerge the dualism of the syndicates into integral corporations of workers and employers. While the syndicalists accepted the inevitability of class conflict, the corporatists believed in the possibility of eliminating it by appropriate structural changes: private property would be abolished in favor of corporate property, thereby eliminating antagon-

<sup>38</sup> Alberto Aquarone, "La politica sindacale del fascismo," *Il Nuovo Osservatore*, VI (Nov.-Dec. 1965), 874-88.

<sup>39</sup> See Pt. II, Chap. IV, of Roland Sarti, "The General Fascist Confederation of Italian Industry: A Study in the Social and Economic Conflicts of Fascist Italy," doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 1967.

isms stemming from the existence and uneven distribution of private wealth. The corporations would assume responsibility for the regulation of production and would provide the basis for a new system of political representation whereby the traditional dualism between citizen and producer would finally be overcome.<sup>40</sup>

According to the most prevalent (and semi-official) view, syndicalism and corporatism were not incompatible. The syndicates were designed to deal fundamentally with labor problems, while the corporations would eventually concern themselves primarily with problems of production. The syndicates, meanwhile, would provide the experience of dealing with new institutions and would serve as testing grounds for the new Fascist leadership. Unfortunately, the labor syndicates never enjoyed the autonomy that was indispensable if they were to serve this purpose. Bottai argued at length that they could not fulfill their proper role without bureaucratic decentralization and the introduction of elective procedures, but there were few people in the party ready to take his advice seriously.<sup>41</sup>

Here is one aspect of Fascism's failure to develop a broad political class prepared to identify with the movement in any but a nominal way. The technocratic leadership, the elites of producers and managers originally promised by Fascism, never materialized. No special efforts were made to encourage technical education. In spite of a fairly promising start, engineers and technicians were no more assimilated into public life under Fascism than they had been under previous governments.<sup>42</sup> The only technicians actually produced by Fascism were those who rose through party ranks and who mastered the techniques of political propaganda and organization. Achille Starace, party secretary in the 1930's and chief choreographer of Fascism, personifies best this type of leadership, which was particularly adept at transforming fervor into formalism.

The failure of Fascism to generate its own cadres in any but a narrow political sense had inevitable repercussions on the numerous reforms and innovations of the 1930's. The technicians who staffed the Fascist labor courts, corporative agencies, and economic bureaus that proliferated endlessly throughout that decade came largely from outside groups, particularly from business.<sup>43</sup> In this respect Fascism unwittingly achieved one of the stated aims of corporatism: a

<sup>40</sup> Bottai and Ugo Spirito, a professor of philosophy at the University of Rome, were each respectively identified with the syndicalist and corporative currents. Spirito's advocacy of the "proprietary corporation" left him open to the charges of crypto-Communism that were leveled against him by the business leadership. (See *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, XII [May 15, 1932], 273-74; see also Pellizzi, *Rivoluzione mancata*, 76-105.)

<sup>41</sup> Giuseppe Bottai, *Ven'anni e un giorno* (24 luglio 1943) (Milan, 1949), 45-50.

<sup>42</sup> Harold D. Lasswell and Renzo Sereno, "The Fascists: The Changing Italian Elite," in *World Revolutionary Elites: Study in Coercive Ideological Movements*, ed. Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 187.

<sup>43</sup> The best analysis of the personnel shared by the larger business firms and by the bureaucracy appears in Louis Rosenstock-Franck, *Les étapes de l'économie fasciste italienne: Du corporatisme à l'économie de guerre* (Paris, 1939), 45-46, 274-77; see also the interpretive article by Richard A. Webster, "Autarky, Expansion and the Underlying Continuity of the Italian State," *Italian Quarterly*, VIII (Winter 1964), 4-5.

fusion of the economic and political leaderships. But it was a fusion in which the Fascist leadership found itself at a distinct disadvantage: it lacked the means to regulate or even simply to check up on the behavior of its collaborators. When the regime decided in the wake of the depression to introduce a policy of price controls, the data on which pricing decisions were based had to come from the economic offices of the CGII because the government lacked the facilities for gathering the statistical information required. A private group thus played a vital role in the formulation of public policy affecting the interests of its members. When the government decided to aid bankrupt industrial concerns, it used public funds to gain control of a vast industrial complex that it administered through the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale* (IRI) established in January 1933. IRI, however, was unable or unwilling to intervene directly in the management of its plants. Managers and entrepreneurs retained complete freedom of action even though they had become little more than public employees.<sup>44</sup> The operations of numerous cartels formed with official approval in the hope that they would lower costs of production could not be supervised, nor could the actions taken by firms under a law passed to regulate industrial investments in order to avoid wasteful duplication of functions and lessen imbalances in the economic development of the various regions.<sup>45</sup>

In the absence of adequate economic analysis, generalizations cannot be made about the impact that these measures may have had on productivity. Before these reforms are dismissed as failures, it must be kept in mind that, inefficient as they may have been, they did create a new relationship between the public and private sectors that was unique to Fascist Italy and that compares favorably with approaches worked out elsewhere as a means of dealing with the economic depression. IRI was an original response to a financial crisis not confined to Italy. It can be argued reasonably that, by channeling public funds into the private sector, IRI created the foundations of the economic system that has produced the economic miracle of present-day Italy. The law to regulate industrial investments, although dropped by post-Fascist governments, created a type of thinking in which the problem of the underdeveloped South could subsequently be confronted.

Describing the experiments of the 1930's as a *rivoluzione mancata* (revolution that failed) is justifiable only if the sole point of reference is the stated objectives of Fascist theoreticians. Significant changes did occur. Price controls, IRI, the proliferation of cartels, and the attempted regulation of industrial investments were all developments that enabled private interest groups to consolidate their respective positions within the national economy. Sales cartels made it possible

<sup>44</sup> Felice Guarneri, *Battaglie economiche tra le due grandi guerre* (2 vols., Milan, 1953), I, 317.

<sup>45</sup> The activities of the cartels are discussed in CGII, *Annuario 1933* (Rome, 1933), 464-68; CGII *Annuario 1937* (Rome, 1937), 660-61. The justifications for and the malfunctions of the law on industrial investments are discussed in Pietro Capoferri, "Limiti e funzioni della legge sugli impianti industriali," *Gerarchia*, XVII (Dec. 1937), 832-35.



for commercial and industrial employers to settle some long-standing disputes.<sup>46</sup> Even the Fascist corporations that finally emerged in the course of 1934 and that usually have been dismissed as utterly useless served an unexpected function. Benni welcomed them as means of facilitating agreements between different sectors of the economy. Alberto Pirelli, president of the Association of Italian Joint-Stock Companies and head of his family's extensive industrial complex, explained candidly that the corporations would enable manufacturers to regulate competition without endangering entrepreneurial autonomy.<sup>47</sup>

The policy of autarchy, launched ostensibly to achieve national economic self-sufficiency in order to carry out an independent foreign policy, completed the pacification of previously antagonistic interest groups. Italian Fascism was oriented toward autarchy by international developments that no single nation could control. But Fascist fondness for total solutions, and the emotional reaction to the economic sanctions imposed by the League of Nations during the Ethiopian war, transformed what might have been simple economic adjustments into a crusade for political independence. The economically wasteful diversification of production stimulated by the pursuit of autarchy increased the interdependence between different sectors of the economy and between the various geographical regions. Textile manufacturers were compelled by law to increase their consumption of domestic fibers. A striking illustration of this interdependence is provided by the fact that the area devoted to cotton growing (mainly in Sicily) increased from 3,500 hectares in 1935 to over 20,000 in 1937. Dependence on foreign fibers was lessened further by expanding the cultivation of hemp and flax. The food-processing and packing industries stepped up their purchases of domestic agricultural products, thereby meeting an old request of the farmer associations.<sup>48</sup> Economic and social stability was achieved at the expense of mobility and dynamism.

Reformist aspirations and the pressure of internal and external factions and interest groups combined to produce the historical reality of Italian Fascism. The inability of Fascist leaders to formulate a course of action acceptable to the entire movement and their sensitivity to the demands of outside groups made it impossible for Fascism to fulfill its initial promises of domestic reform. The result was a system in which the distinction between public and private enterprise was blurred and decision-making powers were dispersed. Economic interests accepted the political leadership of Fascism, while Fascism made only half-

<sup>46</sup> Confederazione Nazionale Fascista del Commercio, *Commercio 1922—I-1932—X* (Rome, 1933), 403-05, 445.

<sup>47</sup> *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, XIII (Nov. 15, 1933), 642-43, 649-50; see also *Rivista di politica economica*, XXIV (Sept.-Oct. 1934), 958. Evidence that Benni's and Pirelli's expectations were not disappointed appears in *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, XVII (July 26, 1937), 1; XVIII (Aug. 5, 1938), 5.

<sup>48</sup> Confederazione Fascista degli Agricoltori, *Relazioni ai convegni indetti nei giorni 8 e 17 giugno 1935—XIII a Bologna in occasione della Mostra Nazionale dell'Agricoltura* (Rome, 1937), 71-160; see also *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, XVII (May 6, 1937), 5; XVIII (Oct. 14, 1938), 1-2.



hearted efforts at economic management. The technocracy originally promised turned out to be little more than the personnel of the old business associations now operating in a new capacity that was neither entirely public nor entirely private. Business enjoyed the benefits of public support without having to accept the onus of effective public control. The façade was totalitarian; the reality atomistic.

Fascist ideology evolved largely in response to external circumstances. When the initial vision of material progress was dimmed by the confrontation with stubborn reality, Mussolini performed another of his spectacular gyrations and asserted that the real aim of the Fascist revolution was a purely spiritual renovation of the Italian people. In the face of military defeat he came to associate the ideal of material progress entirely with the capitalist and Communist enemies of Fascism whom he accused of living by a gross materialism symbolized by "the skyscraper, vast factories, and mass production."<sup>49</sup> It was a most pathetic fate for someone who had come to power largely on the strength of a productivist program.

<sup>49</sup> Speech of Jan. 3, 1942, Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, XXX, 156.

# Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930's-1950's

LES K. ADLER and THOMAS G. PATERSON

IN the early months of the cold war, Herbert L. Matthews of the New York *Times* posed some disturbing questions: "Should we now place Stalinist Russia in the same category as Hitlerite Germany? Should we say that she is Fascist?"<sup>1</sup> He answered affirmatively, as did many Americans in the post-World War II era. President Harry S. Truman himself remarked in 1947 that "There isn't any difference in totalitarian states. I don't care what you call them, Nazi, Communist or Fascist. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Americans both before and after the Second World War casually and deliberately articulated distorted similarities between Nazi and Communist ideologies, German and Soviet foreign policies, authoritarian controls, and trade practices, and Hitler and Stalin. This popular analogy was a potent and pervasive notion that significantly shaped American perception of world events in the cold war. Once Russia was designated the "enemy" by American leaders, Americans transferred their hatred for Hitler's Germany to Stalin's Russia with considerable ease and persuasion. As Matthews put it, "It is really a matter of labels."<sup>3</sup> Those Americans who labeled Russia "Nazi Germany" and coined the phrase "Red Fascism"<sup>4</sup> were seeking relief from their frustrated hopes for a peaceful postwar world and from their shock in finding continued international tension after the close of a long and destructive war. They were well acquainted with Germany; they were less familiar with un-

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert L. Matthews, "Fascism Is Not Dead . . .," *Nation's Business*, XXXIV (Dec. 1946), 40.

<sup>2</sup> (Comment of May 13, 1947), *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1947* (Washington, D. C., 1963), 238.

<sup>3</sup> Matthews, "Fascism," 40.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Edgar Hoover, "Red Fascism in the United States Today," *American Magazine*, CXLIII (Feb. 1947), 24; Jack B. Tenney, *Red Fascism* (Los Angeles, 1947); Howard K. Smith, *The State of Europe* (New York, 1949), 67. The chairman of the Republican National Committee, Carroll Reece, called some Truman administration officials "Red-Fascists." (*Nation's Business*, XXXIV [Oct. 1946], 31.) Socialist leader Norman Thomas spoke in the same vein: "Such is the logic of totalitarianism" that "communism, whatever it was originally, is today Red fascism." (Norman Thomas, "Which Way America—Fascism, Communism, Socialism or Democracy?" *Town Meeting Bulletin*, XIII [Mar. 16, 1948], 19-20.)

predictable Russia. The analogy between the two European nations provided frightened Americans with the assurance that they knew what to expect from Russia, because the analogy taught them and convinced them that the 1940's and 1950's were simply a replay of the 1930's. As Marshall D. Shulman has written, the comparison was "often misleading. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

The word "totalitarianism," according to Herbert J. Spiro, "first gained popular currency through anti-Nazi propaganda during World War II" and "later became an anti-Communist slogan in the cold war."<sup>6</sup> Americans were almost entirely unprepared by their own national experience for giving the word a careful definition.<sup>7</sup> The term itself was an import from Europe that was first applied to Mussolini's Italy and then to Hitler's Germany. Though coined in the 1920's, the word did not come into general or academic use until the late 1930's, "because the political phenomena meant to be described by it had not attracted political attention until then."<sup>8</sup> Indeed, according to John P. Diggins, many Americans, until the Italian attack on Ethiopia and the rise of Hitler "gave Fascism a demonic image," saw Fascist Italy as an attractive political and social experiment.<sup>9</sup> Communist leaders avoided the label "totalitarian," partly because of their own fear and abhorrence of fascism and partly because of their belief that "socialist democracy" better described their own system. But in the late 1930's some anti-Communist observers began to popularize the "totalitarianism" of Russia "as a means to emphasize certain similarities between fascist and Communist one-party governments."<sup>10</sup>

As Spiro has suggested, the propagandistic use of the term "has tended to obscure whatever utility it may have had for systematic analysis and comparison of political entities."<sup>11</sup> Even though recognizing this problem, George F. Kennan has still argued persuasively that for totalitarianism "there are at least no *better* examples than Germany and Russia."<sup>12</sup> Yet it is nevertheless true that, because the outward appearances of the two systems seemed to be more similar to each other

<sup>5</sup> Marshall D. Shulman, *Beyond the Cold War* (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 5; see also William H. McNeill, *America, Britain and Russia: Their Cooperation and Conflict, 1941-1946* (London, 1953), 689, n.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert J. Spiro, "Totalitarianism," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills (17 vols., New York, 1968), XVI, 112.

<sup>7</sup> "Totalitarianism" suggests a total state based on a self-conscious ideology with both the desire and the ability to maintain absolute power and control over its politically fragmented population. The characteristics of totalitarian systems are discussed in greater detail in Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorships and Autocracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); *Totalitarianism: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Meridian paperback ed., Cleveland, 1958).

<sup>8</sup> Spiro, "Totalitarianism," 106; see also Waldemar Gurian, "Totalitarianism as Political Religion," in *Totalitarianism*, ed. Friedrich, 120.

<sup>9</sup> John P. Diggins, "Flirtation with Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy," *American Historical Review*, LXXI (Jan. 1966), 499.

<sup>10</sup> Quotation from Karl W. Deutsch, "Cracks in the Monolith: Possibilities and Patterns of Disintegration in Totalitarian Systems," in *Totalitarianism*, ed. Friedrich, 309, n.; see also Gurian, "Totalitarianism as Political Religion," 120.

<sup>11</sup> Spiro, "Totalitarianism," 112.

<sup>12</sup> George F. Kennan, "Totalitarianism in the Modern World," in *Totalitarianism*, ed. Friedrich, 19.

than either seemed to be to any previous political system in the world, the real differences between fascist and Communist systems have been obscured. It was, in essence, easier for Americans to recognize their similarities than their differences, and though the intensity and scope of the analogy have varied greatly since the 1930's, the characteristic of similarity has remained constant in the American perception of totalitarian systems.<sup>13</sup> Ignoring the widely diverse origins, ideologies, goals, and practices of totalitarian regimes, Americans have tended to focus only on the seemingly similar methods employed by such regimes and to assume that these methods are the basic immutable characteristics of totalitarianism anywhere.

Among the earliest to identify similarities between fascist and Communist states were a number of prominent American intellectuals who did not reflect the strong currents of pro-Soviet and profascist American thought during the late 1920's and early 1930's.<sup>14</sup> In 1930 Charles Beard criticized the elitism he perceived in both fascist and Communist dictatorships; Archibald MacLeish condemned both systems in 1932 for stifling intellectual freedom; and Horace Kallen, aware of the Nazi form of fascism, castigated both systems in 1934 "for their tyrannical apotheosis of Unity." Later, after the purge trials in Russia and the persecution of the Jews in Germany, Elmer Davis, John Dewey, Walter Lippmann, George Counts, and Arthur Garfield Hays spoke out against what they considered the undemocratic, totalitarian similarities in Germany and Russia.<sup>15</sup> Other Americans before the war emphasized fascist-Communist similarities. Herbert Hoover pointed out that both "are the aftermath of the gradual infection of democracy. . . ."<sup>16</sup> A common theme in the *New York Times* in 1937, for example, was the unrepresentative nature of the German and Soviet governments, and Senator William Borah in the same year depicted Nazism and Communism as dogs barking at constitutional governments.<sup>17</sup> Though the lack of a representative government in Russia had been a frequent point of American

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, "The Problem of Totalitarianism—An Introduction," *ibid.*, 2, n. Friedrich has traced the history of the Nazi-Soviet analogy in the American mind: "About 1936 . . . the difference was strongly emphasized; in 1939-40 it was gainsaid; in 1943-45 it was considered very marked indeed; since 1947 it has been all but obliterated."

<sup>14</sup> Diggins has written that throughout the 1920's a significant number of American liberals, led by such New Nationalist spokesmen as Herbert Croly, believed that they had found in Fascism a doctrine compatible with their belief in pragmatic experimentation, rational corporate state planning, and moral purpose, though spokesmen for an older brand of American liberalism such as Oswald Garrison Villard of the *Nation* attacked them for their willingness to sacrifice democracy for efficiency. Not liberals alone, but conservative believers in private property and order and the mass public alike shared highly favorable views of Mussolini's Italy until 1935. (See Diggins, "Flirtation with Fascism.") For the attraction of some Americans to the "social experiment" in Russia in the 1920's, see Lewis S. Feuer, "American Travelers to the Soviet Union 1917-32: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, XIV (Summer 1962), 119-49.

<sup>15</sup> Frank A. Warren, *Liberals and Communism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1966), 14, 124-25. Calvin B. Hoover devoted an entire book to a study of the new form of social organization he saw developing in both Germany and Russia, a form that he described as having at its core "the principle of totalitarianism." (Calvin B. Hoover, *Dictators and Democracies* [New York, 1937], vii.)

<sup>16</sup> Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1966), 87.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Kriesberg, "Soviet News in the 'New York Times,'" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, X (Winter 1946-47), 545; Marian C. McKenna, *Borah* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), 349.

anti-Soviet writers since the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918, Soviet secretiveness, censorship, unconcern for public opinion, purges, ideological purification, and frenzied denunciation of enemies in the 1930's seemed to echo characteristics of the Nazi regime. Eugene Lyons, disillusioned after his failure to find a Soviet "utopia" during his visit to Russia, took his readers on a tour of European tyrannies—"totalitarian insanities"—which he equated with Russia. Everywhere he saw "the autocrats using almost the identical slogans, wielding the selfsame 'sword of history' for class or race or nation." He lamented the "moral collapse of Europe," the decline of humanistic values asserting the dignity of life and a respect for truth, and asked, "What is to distinguish socialism according to Stalin from socialism according to Mussolini?"<sup>18</sup>

Like Lyons, many Americans blurred the ideological differences between Communism and fascism and tended to believe that totalitarian methods overrode the role of ideology in shaping political forms. Hans Kohn wrote forcefully against this distortion of ideology, but scholarly opinion, like public opinion, increasingly moved in the opposite direction.<sup>19</sup> More than a decade later Hannah Arendt argued the majority opinion persuasively in her widely praised study, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Miss Arendt saw a "complete indifference to mass interest" as the guiding characteristic of the "anti-utilitarian" nature of the German and Russian totalitarian regimes; yet she avoided the important distinction between one system proclaiming a humanistic ideology and failing to live up to its ideal and the other living up to its antihumanistic and destructive ideology only too well.<sup>20</sup>

With the profoundly disturbing news in late August 1939 that the German *Reich* and the Soviet Union had signed a mutual nonaggression pact, and with the subsequent German and Russian invasion and division of Poland, the most

<sup>18</sup> Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (New York, 1937), 611, 621–22. Four hundred Left-liberals signed a petition just a few days before the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet Pact protesting the thinking of men like Lyons and the Committee for Cultural Freedom. (*Nation*, CXLIX [Aug. 26, 1939], 228.)

<sup>19</sup> Hans Kohn, "Fascism and Communism—A Comparative Study," in *Revolutions and Dictatorships: Essays in Contemporary History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 179–99. Europeans as well as Americans debated these issues. To the distinguished historian Elie Halévy, in 1936, European tyrannies appeared to manifest similar, and even merging, forms despite their differing origins. Because of historical pressures, he argued, "on the one hand, a complete socialism is moving towards a kind of nationalism," and, "on the other hand, an integral nationalism is moving towards a kind of socialism." He added significantly that "I think the word 'fascism' is better for describing the common characteristics of the two regimes." (Elie Halévy, "The Era of Tyrannies," in *The Era of Tyrannies: Essays on Socialism and War* [Garden City, N. Y., 1965], 285, 279.)

<sup>20</sup> Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 347. For a recent critique of Arendt's work, see Robert Burrowes, "Totalitarianism: The Revised Standard Version," *World Politics*, XXI (Jan. 1969), 272–94. Burrowes points out that totalitarianism in Russia, unlike totalitarianism in Germany, was closely related to the "rapid and radical modernization" of the country and to the development of a backward nation. Franz Neumann, who avoided the temptation of drawing loose analogies between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in his pioneer study of totalitarianism in Germany (*Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism* [London, 1942]) continued, with scholarly caution, in the postwar years to focus his attention on both the differences and similarities between the two political forms. (See his essays, "Notes on the Theory of Dictatorship" and "Economics and Politics in the Twentieth Century," in *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State*, ed. Herbert Marcuse [Glencoe, Ill., 1957], 233–56, 257–69.)

significant prewar identification of the two regimes was established. Noting, like Lyons, that socialism in Germany and Russia was the same, *Collier's* magazine condemned the partition of Poland and thanked the two dictators for "dropping the pretense of hating each other's gizzards" and for removing "all doubt, except in the minds of incurable dreamers, that there is any real difference between Communism and Fascism."<sup>21</sup> Some liberals, like Vincent Sheehan and Louis Fischer, who had held out hope that Russia would avoid totalitarianism, now concluded that Hitler and Stalin were full-fledged partners and, according to Sheehan, that Stalin had embraced fascism. The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, a long-time advocate of American recognition of and friendship toward the Soviet Union, reversed his stand and argued that "totalitarianism is the same everywhere . . . the leopard has the same spots in every jungle!" The liberal Presbyterian columnist, the Reverend Abraham J. Muste, surmised that the two states were anticapitalistic, anti-Christian, and antidemocratic and foresaw a "vast historical movement" toward their merger.<sup>22</sup> The religious press strongly denounced the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and one Protestant minister linked their symbols in a 1939 article entitled "The Hooked Cross and the Hammer and Sickle."<sup>23</sup> American Jews feared that Stalin would initiate Hitler-like policies in Poland and recalled that Russian anti-Semitism had deeper roots than that of the Germans. One Jewish journal, *The Reconstructionist*, referred to the antireligious efforts of both Russia's Militant Atheist League and Germany's Gestapo as twin attempts at "spiritual liquidation."<sup>24</sup> A large segment of Catholic opinion probably agreed with *The Sign's* characterization of Stalin, even before the pact was announced, as "far out-Hitlering Hitler in cruelty and blood-thirstiness." Father John LaFarge, writing after the pact, called the two regimes "the two greatest anti-Christian forces of the world" and recalled his earlier prediction that "Brown and Red Bolshevism" would join hands.<sup>25</sup> Russia's unprovoked attack on Finland in 1939 aroused American indignation; it was, in fact, clear that both Germany and Russia were aggressors in Europe. War relief crusades for the Finns gained an ecstatic national response. Robert Sherwood responded with his well-received drama, *There Shall Be No Night*, condemning the German and Soviet aggressive conspiracy against world democracy.<sup>26</sup> Frederick Hazlitt Brennan invented the phrase "Commu-Nazi" in a five-part story in early 1940 called "Let Me Call You Comrade."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Imperialism 1939 Model," *Collier's*, CIV (Oct. 28, 1939), 74; "Thanks, Mr. Stalin; Thanks, Mr. Hitler," *ibid.* (Nov. 18, 1939), 74.

<sup>22</sup> Warren, *Liberals and Communism*, 198; Holmes and Muste quoted in Ronald E. Magden, "Attitudes of the American Religious Press toward Soviet Russia, 1939-1941," doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1964, 68, 38; see also Norman Thomas in *Socialist Call*, Sept. 2, 1939.

<sup>23</sup> Magden, "Attitudes of the American Religious Press toward Soviet Russia," 39.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 79; see also 22-28, 77.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 52, 55. Robert Ingram, *After Hitler Stalin?* (Milwaukee, 1946), 229, notes that Hitlerism in the 1930's was often called "Brown Bolshevism."

<sup>26</sup> Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, *War Propaganda and the United States* (New York, 1940), 281.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick Hazlitt Brennan, "Let Me Call You Comrade," *Collier's*, CV (Feb. 10, 1940), 9.



Thus, on the eve of World War II, many Americans linked fascist and Communist ideologies as denials of human freedom and tolerance, saw Germany and Russia as international aggressors, and pictured Hitler and Stalin as evil comrades. Shortly after the sudden German invasion of Russia in June 1941, the *Wall Street Journal* indicated its ambivalent position on the outcome of the new war: "The American people know that the principal difference between Mr. Hitler and Mr. Stalin is the size of their respective mustaches."<sup>28</sup> Former Ambassador to Russia William C. Bullitt saw the contest as one between "Satan and Lucifer."<sup>29</sup> Some American isolationists denounced the power politics of both Germany and Russia and adopted a plague-on-both-your-houses attitude.<sup>30</sup> Yet after the invasion President Roosevelt, against ardent opposition, promised and extended to Russia lend-lease aid. The opinion of most interventionists was that, though Russia was evil, it at least was not an immediate threat to the United States; Germany, on the other hand, was both evil and threatening.<sup>31</sup> After the entry of the United States into World War II Americans focused on the differences between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia in order to help cement the wartime alliance among Russia, the United States, and Great Britain. It was popular to stress that indeed Russia and the United States were similar; both were anti-imperialist, and both had a revolutionary past. *Collier's* in 1943 could conclude that Russia was "evolving from a sort of Fascism . . . toward something resembling our own and Great Britain's democracy."<sup>32</sup> But the stress on differences was a temporary façade, a reaction to Soviet war efforts rather than a reappraisal, and the Nazi-Communist analogy appeared publicly again as Soviet-American tensions increased near the close of the war.

Even before the war ended, W. Averell Harriman suggested to Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal that the thrust of Communism was not dead and that indeed the United States might have to confront an ideological war perhaps as "vigorous and dangerous as Fascism or Nazism."<sup>33</sup> Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew sent President Truman a briefing paper in June 1945 stating that "Communists have the same attitude as Goebbels did—that the civil liberties

<sup>28</sup> *Wall Street Journal*, June 25, 1941.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, July 15, 1941.

<sup>30</sup> Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction* (paperback ed., New York, 1961), 284–85; Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle against Intervention, 1940–1941* (Madison, Wis., 1953), 84–85; Jonas, *Isolationism in America*, 233, 267.

<sup>31</sup> A *Fortune* magazine poll taken in October 1941, shortly after the German attack, indicated that 35.1 per cent thought Russia and Germany equally bad, 32 per cent believed that while there was not much choice between the two, Russia was slightly better, and only 4.6 per cent considered the Russian government the worse of the two. Such was the vision of German invincibility that 47 per cent thought Germany would win, with only 22 per cent expecting a Soviet victory. (See *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VI [Spring 1942], 152; Raymond H. Dawson, *The Decision to Aid Russia* [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959], 72; Warren B. Walsh, "What the American People Think of Russia," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VIII [Winter 1944–45], 515.) Many analysts predicted with Eugene Lyons, "The End of Joseph Stalin," *American Mercury*, LIII (Aug. 1941), 135–42.

<sup>32</sup> Henry L. Roberts, "Russia and America," in *Russian Foreign Policy: Essays in Historical Perspective*, ed. Ivo J. Lederer (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 580–81; *Collier's*, quoted in Paul Willen, "Who 'Collaborated' with Russia?" *Antioch Review*, XIV (Sept. 1954), 262.

<sup>33</sup> Entry for Apr. 20, 1945, *The Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Walter Millis (New York, 1951), 47, 57.

of the democracies are convenient instruments for Communists to facilitate their tearing down the structure of the state and thereafter abolishing all civil rights.”<sup>34</sup> To those who ridiculed his subsequent call for a study of Soviet philosophy, Forrestal replied that “we always should remember that we also laughed at Hitler.”<sup>35</sup> A New Hampshire lawyer, later to be that state’s Attorney General and congressman, asked in 1946, “Do you remember that Hitler’s plans were fully outlined in his book *Mein Kampf* and that no one paid serious attention?” The Russians had never retracted their plans for world revolution, and he urged Americans to beware.<sup>36</sup> One prominent businessman condemned both Germany and Russia and argued that “any system that doesn’t put a penalty on inactivity and a reward on activity is bound to fail.”<sup>37</sup> The Economic Cooperation Administration concluded that both Hitler and the Cominform were international liars; the president of International Harvester linked Russia and Germany as the twentieth-century “forces of slavery”; and “Red-fascism” was introduced into American political parlance.<sup>38</sup>

In totalitarian states, Americans were aware, absolute control over the means of communication gave the regime the ability to grant people access only to the information it wished them to have. Germany had controlled information, and Secretary Grew told a nationwide radio audience in June 1945 that “never again must a tyranny be permitted to mislead and befuddle a people and to betray men and women into mob violence, aggression and national suicide.”<sup>39</sup> Many Americans in the postwar period believed that Russia’s control of communications, information, and propaganda were replicas of the German model, and many assumed that aggressive war would be the inevitable result of an absence of free expression. Assistant Secretary of State William Benton, offering a rationale for American propaganda efforts through the Voice of America in 1947, maintained that “we have learned that there is an essential connection between denial of freedom of expression on the one hand, and distatorship and war on the other.”<sup>40</sup> And it was evident to many American leaders that Russian propaganda was comparable to that of Goebbels.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers: The Conference of Berlin, 1945* [hereafter cited as *FR, Berlin*] (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1960), I, 274.

<sup>35</sup> Entry of Jan. 6, 1946, *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 128.

<sup>36</sup> Memo by Louis E. Wyman, June 1946, Senator Charles Tobey Papers, box 49, Dartmouth College Library; see also address, Jan. 17, 1950, W. L. Clayton Papers, Rice University Library.

<sup>37</sup> C. Donald Dallas, chairman of Revere Copper and Brass, in *America’s Fifty Foremost Business Leaders*, ed. B. C. Forbes (New York, 1948), 78. Similarities between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia were made clearly in American textbooks in the 1940’s. As one textbook author put it, “There was no important difference from an economic point of view between communism and fascism.” (Quoted in Richard W. Burkhardt, “The Teaching of the Soviet Union in American School Social Studies,” doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1950, 127.)

<sup>38</sup> US Economic Cooperation Administration, *Information on the Marshall Plan for Americans Going Abroad* (Washington, D. C., 1949); National Foreign Trade Council, *Report, Thirty-fifth National Convention* (New York, Nov. 9, 1948), 143 (John McCaffrey of International Harvester); *Nation’s Business*, XXXIV (Sept. 1946), 31, (Oct. 1946), 31.

<sup>39</sup> *Department of State Bulletin*, XII (June 17, 1945), 1097–98; see also *FR, Berlin*, I, 278–79.

<sup>40</sup> Speech, Feb. 11, 1947, Harry S. Truman Papers, OF 20, Harry S. Truman Library.

<sup>41</sup> Bernard Baruch makes this conclusion in a letter to Harriman, July 21, 1947, W. Averell

Mental and physical regimentation as a characteristic of totalitarianism was assumed by General John R. Deane, the head of the American military mission in wartime Russia. In his much-publicized *Strange Alliance* Deane drew heavily on the Nazi-Soviet analogy. He noted that the marching of Russian soldiers "closely resembled the goose-step, with arms rigid and legs kicked stiffly to the front," and this "pointed plainly to a discipline oriented toward German methods, which tends to destroy individual initiative in the battle pay off." Deane also related this regimentation to the control of ideas. "Unfortunately the Russian people are not allowed to see that the pattern being cut by their leaders is much the same as that which was followed in Germany."<sup>42</sup> President Lewis H. Brown of the Johns-Manville Corporation agreed that "the Russian people, like the German people, do not want to rule the world, but they are helpless slaves of the ruling clique that dominates the people through fear and terror, through concentration camps and secret police and through the whole mechanism of totalitarianism."<sup>43</sup>

Control through fear and terror was, indeed, a significant component of the totalitarian image perceived by Americans. Americans knew of Russian exile and labor camps in Siberia even before the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, and in the 1920's and 1930's it was known that such camps were filled with political prisoners, criminals, and those opposed to the Soviet collectivization schemes. The German experience, however, seems to have stamped the image of the concentration camp, with all its overtones of mass extermination and unbridled terror, on the Russian camps.<sup>44</sup> Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce in 1946 castigated the Soviet system as one "which keeps eighteen million people out of 180 million in concentration and forced labor camps."<sup>45</sup> In the United Nations, the American representative, Willard L. Thorp, compared the "shocking exploitation of human beings by the Nazis" with alleged forced labor conditions in Russia.<sup>46</sup> In 1947 Senator J. Howard McGrath, later Truman's Attorney General,

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Harriman Papers (in his possession, Washington, D. C.); see also *Department of State Bulletin*, XXI (Oct. 31, 1949), 674. Kennan commented a few years later that such an oversimplification led to misperception, because Americans credited the Soviet leaders with the deliberate "cultivation of mass delusions, and the creation of scapegoat elements on which to focus mass emotions." Though heavily employed in the Nazi anti-Semitic campaigns, such methods were only used, Kennan argued, in a "half-hearted and routine way" in Russia where the rule rested not on illusion but on harsh reality. (Kennan, "Totalitarianism in the Modern World," 22-23.)

<sup>42</sup> John R. Deane, *Strange Alliance* (New York, 1947), 4, 216, 219, 306.

<sup>43</sup> US Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings, European Recovery Program* 80 Cong., 2 sess. (Washington, D. C., 1948), 1191.

<sup>44</sup> The term "concentration camp" appears to have entered popular usage only after the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany. The 1934 edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (2d ed., Springfield, Mass., 1934), despite the existence of Russian forced labor camps in the 1920's and 1930's, has no listing of the term. But, when it was reprinted in 1944, it listed the term under the "New Words" section. Lyons (*Assignment in Utopia*, 425), however, uses the phrase when he describes Russian GPU (secret police) labor camps. He believed that, in 1937, one camp near Moscow "contained more prisoners than all of Hitler's concentration camps put together."

<sup>45</sup> Luce address, Feb. 13, 1946, Bernard Baruch Papers, Selected Correspondence, Princeton University Library; see also Ingram, *After Hitler Stalin?* 246.

<sup>46</sup> *Department of State Bulletin*, XX (Feb. 27, 1949), 248.

applied the analogy of concentration camps to Eastern Europe and found that in Yugoslavia alone "over 400,000 believers in God and freedom have been killed, and 100,000 are in prisons and concentration camps." Citing as his source of information the vehemently anti-Communist publication *Plain Talk* and the writings of strongly anti-Soviet writers such as William C. Bullitt and Leon Dennen, McGrath also claimed that the clergy in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Yugoslavia were being exterminated.<sup>47</sup> The image of Nazi death camps was thus conjured up. Arthur Bliss Lane, American ambassador to Poland from 1945 to 1947, added that the Russian security police copied Gestapo tactics. Speaking of persons brutally beaten and tortured by police, Lane told a radio audience that "the same terror of a knock at the door in the dead of night exists today as it did during the Nazi occupation." Such suppression of human liberties and terror "are, in my opinion, as horrible to the American people whether they are permitted under the emblem of the Swastika or under the emblem of the Hammer and Sickle."<sup>48</sup> The St. Louis Trust Company swept over history in its indictment: "Systematic race persecution in Germany and class persecution in Russia serve the same purposes as the Roman circuses, gladiatorial contests and persecution of the early Christians."<sup>49</sup> President Truman summarized the question simply in 1950 when he concluded that "there isn't any difference between the totalitarian Russian government and the Hitler government. . . . They are all alike. They are police governments—police state governments."<sup>50</sup>

Americans pointed out too that both fascist and Communist regimes attempted to extend their ideological appeal and brute tactics to other nations through subversive agents. Disclosures of and allegations against suspected spies in Canada and the United States inflated fears of foreign agents. Francis P. Matthews, a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the originator of a series of influential anti-Communist publications by that organization, indicated to the chamber's board of directors that in his pamphlets "what we say about Communists, applies with equal force to Fascist, Nazi or any other agents of foreign powers who follow similar tactics." After this comparison, he added, "We restrict the discussion to Communists for the reason that the greatest

<sup>47</sup> Speech, "Save Human Freedom," Feb. 26, 1947, J. Howard McGrath Papers, Harry S. Truman Library.

<sup>48</sup> Address, Apr. 4, 1947, Arthur Bliss Lane Papers, Yale University Library; see also Arthur Bliss Lane, *I Saw Poland Betrayed* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1948), 279–80; National Foreign Trade Council, *Report*, Thirty-second National Convention (New York, Nov. 14, 1945), 327; *Department of State Bulletin*, XXII (Feb. 27, 1950), 323.

<sup>49</sup> Townes Phelan in *St. Louis Union Trust Company Letter*, No. 14 (Oct., 1946).

<sup>50</sup> Press conference, Mar. 30, 1950, David D. Lloyd Files, Truman Papers, box 5, Harry S. Truman Library. In mass media as well, the image of a police state replaced wartime pro-Russian stereotypes. One student of Hollywood films and their treatment of Russia in 1945–1950 has commented: "Gone are the brave Russian women fighters, the happy villagers, and the democratic allures of the rulers. In their place somber bureaucrats, counterparts of the Nazis, spread an atmosphere of oppression." (Siegfried Kracauer, "National Types as Hollywood Presents Them," in *Mass Culture*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David White [Glencoe, Ill., 1957], 272.)

current danger, now that the Fascist and Nazi axis was defeated in World War II, comes from the Communists." Matthews feared Communist infiltration into American labor unions, mass media, and the federal government. Thus all Communists, like all fascists, who owed a "superior loyalty to a foreign power" should be excluded from government employment and from other sensitive positions.<sup>51</sup> Attorney General Tom C. Clark concurred in a speech in 1946 to the Chicago Bar Association, pointing out that "we know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions, and to bring about disrespect for our government." After all, "we know full well what communism and fascism practice—sometimes one taking the cloak of the other."<sup>52</sup>

As Americans perceived an increasing postwar threat from Russia and as the threat of Germany subsided and, indeed, the United States began to court that country as an ally, many saw Communism as an even greater menace than fascism had been. Americans credited Soviet Communists with better "fifth-column" activities.<sup>53</sup> In June 1945 the State Department informed the President that "a communist party was in fact a fifth column as much as any Bund group, except that the latter were crude and ineffective in comparison with Communists."<sup>54</sup> Blinded by the analogy, American leaders could only perceive the civil war in Greece as a Hitler-like fifth-column intrusion by the Russians and not, as it was in reality, a struggle of Greeks against a British-supported monarchy with little interference by the Soviet Union.<sup>55</sup> When appearing before Congress to ask for funds for the economic development of Latin America, Spruille Braden testified that Communists in that region were a greater peril than "Nazi columnists," because the Communists infiltrated all political movements—even the conservative ones—but the Germans had been less able to integrate themselves into Latin American national life.<sup>56</sup> Congressman Charles A. Eaton wrote in 1947 that the Russian "fifth column in the United States is greater than Hitler's fifth column ever was."<sup>57</sup> And the former head of the Office of Strategic Services, General William J. Donovan, added in 1948 that "the Nazis exploited 'the dis-

<sup>51</sup> Memo by Matthews, 1946, "Eradicating Communists from Government," Francis P. Matthews Papers, United States Chamber of Commerce Commission on Socialism and Communism, Harry S. Truman Library.

<sup>52</sup> Speech, Sept. 18, 1948, Stephen Spingarn Papers, White House Assignment, Harry S. Truman Library.

<sup>53</sup> Wilfred Funk, *Word Origins* (New York, 1950), 220, describes the origin of the expression "fifth column" in the words of one of Francisco Franco's generals, Emilio Mola, who approached Madrid with four columns of troops and who spoke of the "fifth column" waiting "within the city." Other observers credit Ernest Hemingway with popularizing the term in his play, *The Fifth Column*, about the Spanish Civil War. (William and Mary Morris, *Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins* [New York, 1962], 135.)

<sup>54</sup> FR, *Berlin*, I, 272.

<sup>55</sup> See Richard J. Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements around the World* (New York, 1968), 121, 125.

<sup>56</sup> Washington *Evening Star*, June 9, 1947.

<sup>57</sup> Charles A. Eaton, "Let's Have a Showdown with Russia," *American Magazine*, CXLIII (Aug. 1947), 92.



qualified and the traitors' on a large scale; the Soviets have enlarged and perfected that technique."<sup>58</sup>

Perhaps the most significant, and the most misleading, part of the Nazi-Communist analogy was that drawn between the prewar and wartime military actions of Germany and those of Russia in the postwar period. As Soviet armies marched into Eastern Europe on the heels of the defeated *Wehrmacht*, many Americans perceived it as immediate aggression rather than as wartime liberation. A clear example of this process was the early transposition of the American vocabulary applied to the Nazi domination of Europe. It was assumed, without understanding the Soviet security concerns or its national interest, that Russia was simply replacing Germany as the disrupter of peace in Europe. The term "satellite," first applied to German domination of Rumania and Hungary, was easily transferred to Russian hegemony in postwar Eastern Europe.<sup>59</sup> Winston Churchill, who helped popularize the notion in America, lumped Germany and Russia together as similar aggressors, and Max Eastman and the Russian *émigré* Ely Culbertson both condemned Russia for employing the German practice of disregarding treaties and adopting satellite states.<sup>60</sup> H. V. Kaltenborn, shortly after Churchill's famous iron curtain speech in 1946, bluntly labeled the Soviet Union "a ruthless, totalitarian power which is seeking domination in both Europe and Asia," and he warned his radio listeners to "Remember Munich!"<sup>61</sup> George V. Allen of the State Department stated in 1949 that both Russia and Germany were responsible for the collapse of the League of Nations. "Aggression, if it comes, will destroy the United Nations as surely as it destroyed the League. And in totalitarianism, of either the right or the left, lie the seeds of aggressive action."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> William J. Donovan, "Stop Russia's Subversive War," *Atlantic*, CLXXXI (May 1948), 28-29; see also Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (New Haven, Conn., 1948), 577; and Lane, *I Saw Poland Betrayed*, 311.

<sup>59</sup> Both Ambassador to Russia Walter Bedell Smith and the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning used the word "satellites" in 1946. Congresswoman Sumner complained in 1945 that the United States helped Russia through lend-lease to subjugate Eastern Europe and that hence Americans "have permitted them to out-bunkum Hitler on some of his policies." Ambassador Lane concluded (*ibid.*, 289) that Russia manipulated elections in Poland just as Germany had done before the war. (Smith in *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 158; House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, *Economic Reconstruction in Europe*, Suppl. to eleventh report [Washington, D. C., 1947], 22, 24; Sumner in US House, Committee on Banking and Currency, *Hearings, Export-Import Bank Act of 1945*, 79 Cong., 1 sess. [Washington, D. C., 1945], 52; see also William H. Chamberlain in "Russia and America—Postwar Rivals or Allies?" *Town Meeting Bulletin*, XI [May 31, 1945], 4-6; Ingram, *After Hitler Stalin?* 225.)

<sup>60</sup> For Churchill's influential Fulton, Missouri, speech, see New York Times, Mar. 6, 1946; *The Truman Administration: A Documentary History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein and Allen J. Matusow (New York, 1966), 218. The former Prime Minister's words were consistent with his June 1941 comment that "the Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism." (Bernard Weiner, "The Truman Doctrine: Background, Evolution, Implications," doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1967, 7.) Eastman and Culbertson in "Are We Heading for War with Russia?" *Town Meeting Bulletin*, XII (Sept. 19, 1946), 5-6.

<sup>61</sup> "Have Britain and America Any Reason to Fear Russia?" *ibid.*, XI (Mar. 21, 1946), 5.

<sup>62</sup> *Department of State Bulletin*, XX (June 19, 1949), 801. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 25, 1948, Forrestal commented on Germany and Russia: "The record shows that despotism, whatever its form, has a remorseless compulsion to aggression. . . ." *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 400.



It was thus the view of many leading Americans that Russia, like Germany before, was going to sweep over Europe in a massive military attack. Lewis H. Brown argued that Russia "is the dread of every family in Western Europe every night when they go to bed."<sup>63</sup> Such sentiment encouraged the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other regional alliances. J. Howard McGrath anticipated the arguments in 1947 when he told the Senate: "Today it is Trieste, Korea, and Manchuria, tomorrow it is the British Empire. The next day it is South America. And then—who is so blind as to fail to see the next step?"<sup>64</sup> In 1948 Secretary of State George C. Marshall recalled his pre-war experience of watching "the Nazi government take control of one country after another until finally Poland was invaded in a direct military operation." His words clearly suggested the parallel with postwar Russia.<sup>65</sup>

George F. Kennan, the State Department expert on the Soviet Union in Moscow and Washington considered by most observers as the architect of the containment policy, attempted in 1956 to dispel a myth that he himself had helped create years earlier. "The image of a Stalinist Russia," he argued, "poised and yearning to attack the West, and deterred only by our possession of atomic weapons, was largely a creation of the Western imagination."<sup>66</sup> Kennan has claimed that the containment doctrine he advocated in private and in his influential "X" article in the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs* did not suggest forceful containment, the creation of a ring of military bases and alliances around Russia, or an identification of German aggression with Russian presence in Eastern Europe. Yet popularizers of the Nazi-Soviet analogy in official Washington and elsewhere used Kennan, in part because of his own imprecision in 1947, to argue their case that Russian "aggression" had to be halted or America would face another world war. Protesting what he considered to be the misuse of his ideas, Kennan could only conclude that "Washington's reactions" had been "deeply subjective."<sup>67</sup>

"Munich" and "appeasement" returned as terms of humiliation and shame to haunt postwar negotiations with the Soviet Union. Responding to Roosevelt's agreement at Yalta to allow the Soviet Union three votes in the United Nations General Assembly, Senator Arthur Vandenberg indicated that among the members of the American delegation to the San Francisco United Nations meeting "there is a general disposition to *stop this Stalin appeasement*. It *has* to stop *sometime*. Every surrender makes it more difficult."<sup>68</sup> In defending the

<sup>63</sup> National Foreign Trade Council, *Report*, Thirty-fourth National Convention (New York, Oct. 22, 1947), 463; see also *Wall Street Journal*, June 6, 1947; *Nation's Business*, XXXIV (Nov. 1946), 23; XXXV (Oct. 1947), 23; *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 181.

<sup>64</sup> Speech, "Save Human Freedom," Feb. 26, 1947, McGrath Papers.

<sup>65</sup> *New York Times*, Mar. 20, 1948.

<sup>66</sup> George F. Kennan, "Overdue Changes in Our Foreign Policy," *Harper's*, CCXIII (Aug. 1956), 27-33.

<sup>67</sup> *Id.*, *Memoirs, 1925-1950* (Boston, 1967), 356, 403.

<sup>68</sup> Diary entry of Apr. 2, 1945, *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*, ed. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr. (Boston, 1952), 161.

Truman Doctrine in 1947, Vandenberg remarked that "I think the adventure is worth trying as an alternative to another 'Munich' and perhaps to another war. . . ." <sup>69</sup> To the suggestion made at a cabinet meeting in September 1945 that the United States eliminate its monopoly of atomic bombs and nuclear information in the interests of peace, Secretary Forrestal replied that "it seems doubtful that we should endeavor to buy their understanding and sympathy. We tried that once with Hitler. There are no returns on appeasement." <sup>70</sup> *Barron's* chastised Henry Wallace in 1946 for his advocacy of disarmament in atomic weapons through an agreement with Russia and wrote that he had an "appeaser's dream." <sup>71</sup> In 1950 General Douglas MacArthur considered the policy of containing rather than unleashing Chiang Kai-shek to be "appeasement," and he chastised those in the administration who would not escalate the Korean War, for they were adhering to "the concept of appeasement, the concept that when you use force, you can limit the force." Adlai Stevenson, in the 1952 presidential campaign, argued that a withdrawal of American troops to allow "Asians to fight Asians . . . would risk a Munich in the Far East, with the possibility of a third world war not far behind." <sup>72</sup> Since the cry of appeasement was pervasive in the American mind, diplomats may have been less willing to bargain and more willing to adopt uncompromising positions vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Indeed, for some, diplomacy and appeasement were probably nearly identical in meaning, and diplomacy with totalitarian states meant concession to principle. This national stance was suggested by President Truman in his Navy Day speech of October 1945 when he stated that "we shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil." <sup>73</sup> Such an attitude had a paralyzing effect on international give and take and certainly impeded the accommodation of international differences.

The publication by the State Department on January 21, 1948, of captured German documents concerning the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 fed the notion that Russia was aggressive, deceitful, and opportunistic, and that consequently the United States must deal sternly from a position of power with the Communist nation. Walter Lippmann thought that publication "the work of propagandists and not of scholars," but most commentators, as unaware in 1948 as they had been in 1938 of the intricacies of national interest and diplomacy, read the documents as the validation of the charge that the Nazis and the Russians had

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 342 (May 12, 1947); see also *ibid.*, 266-67; *Steel*, CXIX (Sept. 2, 1946), 61; Arthur C. Millsbaugh, *Americans in Persia* (Washington, D. C., 1946), 230-31; Max Eastman and J. B. Powell, "The Fate of the World Is at Stake in China," *Reader's Digest*, XLVI (June 1945), 13-22.

<sup>70</sup> Entry of Sept. 21, 1945, *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 96, 399.

<sup>71</sup> *Barron's*, XXVI (Sept. 23, 1946), 1; *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, Vol. VI: *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union* [hereafter cited as *FR, Eastern Europe*] (Washington, D. C., 1969), 786.

<sup>72</sup> MacArthur and Stevenson, quoted in Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966* (New York, 1967), 119, 121, 135.

<sup>73</sup> *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1945* (Washington, D. C., 1961), 433; see also comments on John Foster Dulles by Coral Bell, *Negotiation from Strength: A Study in the Politics of Power* (New York, 1963), 69.

been essentially one and the same in their aims of world conquest.<sup>74</sup> Dorothy Thompson was baffled that the American government had gone ahead with the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg Trials “with the Russians sitting as prosecutors and judges against the very persons they had egged on to war and with whom they had plotted to divide the spoils.”<sup>75</sup> Ignoring the history of Russia’s rebuffed efforts to form an anti-German coalition with the West in the 1930’s—an ignorance reinforced by the selected published documents—the *New York Times* editorialized on the basis of the German documents alone that “the initiative toward the conspiracy did not come from the Nazis, but from Moscow, behind the backs of France and Britain,” and Bertram D. Hulén of the *New York Times* thought the documents proved that Soviet officials “would rather work with the Germans than with the West.”<sup>76</sup> Kaltenborn believed the publication of the documents in early 1948 was a maneuver by the Truman administration to scare Congress into passing Marshall Plan legislation,<sup>77</sup> but Secretary Marshall himself said the publication was routine and had in fact been postponed pending the results of the Foreign Ministers’ Conference of December 1947 in order not to offend the Russians. With the failure of the meeting, the documents were released.<sup>78</sup> More important than the question of the timing of publication is that of the significance of these diplomatic sources to the development of American thought on the cold war. The documents reinforced and reflected the American image of the Nazi-Soviet connection and strengthened the argument of those who believed that Russia had never shared Allied war goals, but rather embraced the German aims of world domination.

An additional component of the Nazi-Soviet comparison was presented by commentators on international trade. Russia in the postwar world conducted foreign trade through the agency of the government, as had Germany before. Both, it was suggested, used trade for political purposes, and both imposed harsh commercial treaties on Eastern European countries.<sup>79</sup> Germany and Russia thus forced weaker nations to buy goods at exorbitant prices and to sell products to them at reduced rates.<sup>80</sup> Trade, then, was another weapon in the aggressive arsenal of totalitarian states. Recalling American trade with Germany and Japan before the war, Kennan stated in 1945 that there was little to gain, and much to lose, from postwar American-Russian trade. By trading with postwar Russia, he reasoned, Americans might be “furthering the military industrialization of the Soviet Union” and “be creating military strength which might some day

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in D. N. Pritt, *The State Department and the Cold War* (New York, 1948), 16.

<sup>75</sup> Department of State American Opinion Report, Feb. 9, 1948, State Department Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>76</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 23, 1948.

<sup>77</sup> Kaltenborn radio broadcast, Jan. 21, 1948, Lane Papers.

<sup>78</sup> Pritt, *State Department*, 13.

<sup>79</sup> *FR*, *Eastern Europe*, 260; *Iron Age*, CLIX (June 26, 1947), 98; Charles C. Abbott, “Economic Defense of the United States,” *Harvard Business Review*, XXVI (Sept. 1948), 618; Ygael Gluckstein, *Stalin’s Satellites in Europe* (Boston, 1952).

<sup>80</sup> Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (3d ed., New York, 1956), 260–63.

be used to our disadvantage. . . ." His suggestion was clear that prewar American trade with the Axis Powers had served to build up the enemy against the United States and that postwar Russian-American trade might replay such events.<sup>81</sup> This type of thinking again forced rigidity upon postwar American foreign policy because it assumed that the course of relations was already set and that the prewar decade provided an accurate map for the postwar era.

Americans after the Second World War also blended their images of the German *Führer* and the Soviet Premier. Stalin was a new Hitler, demagogic, dictatorial, demanding personal loyalty, conniving to rule other peoples. The tough but friendly "Uncle Joe" of wartime propaganda became the paranoid tyrant of the cold war, aping Hitler. The president of the University of Notre Dame articulated the widely held assumption that Stalin was continuing Hitler's viciousness.<sup>82</sup> *Iron Age* concluded that "Stalin has succeeded to the mantle of Hitler as a menace to world peace."<sup>83</sup> George Meany of the American Federation of Labor called Stalin "the Russian Hitler," and General Donovan believed that Stalin was in fact more ruthless and thorough than the *Führer*.<sup>84</sup>

In 1949 Professor Leo Szilard of the University of Chicago wrote in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*: "Soviet Russia is a dictatorship no less ruthless perhaps than was Hitler's dictatorship in Germany. Does it follow that Russia will act as Hitler's Germany acted?"<sup>85</sup> Szilard did not think so, and his question emphasizes at once the major assumption and the major weakness of the Nazi-Communist analogy: that conflict with totalitarianism was inevitable after World War II; that there was no room for accommodation with the Soviet Union because the Communist nation was inexorably driven by its ideology and its totalitarianism. It followed from such reasoning that the United States could have done nothing to alleviate postwar tension. Such a notion, however, ignores the important years 1945-1946 when the possibilities for accommodation were far greater than later in the decade.<sup>86</sup> The analogy itself obstructed accommoda-

<sup>81</sup> Kennan, *Memoirs*, 268.

<sup>82</sup> Chicago *Herald American*, Apr. 7, 1946.

<sup>83</sup> *Iron Age*, CLXII (Dec. 23, 1948), 43.

<sup>84</sup> Meany in *American Federationist*, LV (Jan. 1948), 6; Donovan, "Stop Russia's Subversive War," 28; see also Lane speech, Apr. 28, 1947, Lane Papers; *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Millis, 72-73; *Iron Age*, CLXII (July 15, 1948), 69. Some observers at the Progressive Party Convention in 1948, who suggested they saw Communism there, projected comparisons to fascist meetings in the 1920's and 1930's. Reporter Anne O'Hare McCormick sensed "something in the atmosphere, in the play of lights, in the dark mass of shouting people" reminiscent of "similar scenes of acclaim for a potential 'savior' in Rome in the Twenties and in Berlin in the early Thirties." (Curtis D. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army* [New York, 1965], 489.) It is curious that the reporters did not draw parallels between the Wallace meeting of 1948 and the Bull Moose rallies of 1912 or the Roosevelt rallies in the 1930's, both characterized by their fervor and the almost religious appeal of their leaders. A film made by the National Broadcasting Company in 1955 entitled "Nightmare in Red," a history of Russia after 1917, employed the technique of flashing pictures of Stalin and Hitler in close juxtaposition to establish the similarities.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in *American Views of Soviet Russia, 1917-1965*, ed. Peter G. Filene (Homewood, Ill., 1968), 242.

<sup>86</sup> "Traditional" interpretations of the cold war impose a *post-1947* Soviet behavior pattern on Soviet actions in 1945-1946 and hence distort the evidence. See note 88, below, for citations suggesting that there were opportunities for reconciliation between Russia and the United States in 1945-1946, and Thomas G. Paterson, "The Abortive American Loan to Russia and the Origins of the Cold War, 1943-1946," *Journal of American History*, LVI (June 1969), 70-92.

tion: it did not allow for a sophisticated understanding of power relationships in Europe; it substituted emotion for intellect; and it particularly affected the American perception of reality. There were, without question, similarities between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. But to assume that the similarity was total, as did many leading Americans, was to miss the particular differences which perhaps left an opening for an early peaceful coexistence. What is more important for this discussion, however, is not that they were different, but that many Americans took the unhistorical and illogical view that Russia in the 1940's would behave as Germany had in the previous decade.

Of prominent American political figures in the early postwar era, a few men like Henry Wallace consistently refuted the analogy and asked simply how America could deal with the reality of Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe, a hegemony Wallace defined as defensive rather than aggressive or offensive. Wallace wrote to Truman in July 1946 that Russia had legitimate security needs in Europe. "We should be prepared," he asserted, "even at the expense of risking epithets of appeasement, to agree to reasonable Russian guarantees of security."<sup>87</sup> The United States, in short, could not expect Russia to relinquish its national interest, any more than anyone would expect the British to ignore what they considered to be British national interest in Greece, or the United States to abandon Latin America. Professors Fred Neal and Frederick Schuman, among others, have suggested that, in fact, much Soviet foreign policy after the Second World War was defensive and cautious and that there is no imperative in the Communist ideology for military aggression.<sup>88</sup> Neal points out that Americans have misread the Communist belief that capitalism will collapse as meaning Communist military conquest of the world.<sup>89</sup> Americans drew little distinction between the German drive for European domination and the Soviet interest in revolution—between military attack and internal revolution.<sup>90</sup> The Marxian philosophy looked for social and economic improvement among disadvantaged people, whereas, as Hans Buchheim has suggested, fascism was designed not to improve mankind, but rather to destroy that part it disliked.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Wallace to Truman, July 23, 1946, Clark Clifford Papers, Harry S. Truman Library; see also Frederick L. Schuman, "The Soviet Union: Cordon Sanitaire," *Current History*, XI (Dec. 1946), 460.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*, *The Cold War* (2d ed., Baton Rouge, La., 1967), 21–22; Fred W. Neal, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1961); see also Barton J. Bernstein, "American Foreign Policy and the Origins of the Cold War," in Bernstein, *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration* (Chicago, Ill., 1970); Gar Alperovitz, "How Did the Cold War Begin?" *New York Review of Books*, Mar. 23, 1967, 11; John Bagguley, "The World War and the Cold War," in *Containment and Revolution*, ed. David Horowitz (Boston, 1967), 104 n., 118; Louis Halle, *The Cold War as History* (New York, 1967), 65; Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (2d ed., New York, 1960), 536–37; Ernest R. May, "The Cold War," in *The Comparative Approach to American History*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New York, 1968), 343; Robert D. Warth, "Stalin and the Cold War: A Second Look," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIX (Winter 1960), 1–12.

<sup>89</sup> Fred W. Neal, "The Cold War in Europe, 1945–1967," in *Struggle against History*, ed. N. D. Houghton (New York, 1968), 20–25.

<sup>90</sup> See Staughton Lynd's brief discussion of this in "The Origin of the Cold War: An Exchange," *Commentary*, XXXI (Feb. 1961), 156.

<sup>91</sup> Hans Buchheim, *Totalitarian Rule: Its Nature and Characteristics*, tr. Ruth Hein (Middletown, 1968), 19.

Wolfgang Sauer recently wrote that "Neither V. I. Lenin nor Joseph Stalin wished to turn the clock back; they not merely wished to move ahead, but they wished to jump ahead. The Bolshevik revolution had many elements of a development revolution not unlike those now under way in the underdeveloped countries."<sup>92</sup> The American failure to note distinctions between military fascism and revolutionary Marxism has contributed to a simplistic view of revolutionary and anticolonial movements in the post-World War II era and has led to the establishment of world-wide alliances and permanent military containment policies in Europe and Asia. As Professor Robert F. Smith has written, "This distorted use of historical analogy vastly oversimplifies not only the policies of Russia and China, but also the nationalistic reform movements around the world."<sup>93</sup>

The Hitler-Stalin comparison has also been superficial and misleading. Sauer has written that "The social and political order of Bolshevism is relatively independent from the leadership. . . . Fascist regimes, by contrast, are almost identical with their leaders; no fascist regime has so far survived its leader."<sup>94</sup> Kennan himself attempted to convince his readers in 1956 that Stalin's intentions, though menacing in Western eyes, were "not to be confused with the reckless plans and military timetable of a Hitler."<sup>95</sup> Brutal and idiosyncratic as Stalin was, there is little evidence, as Kennan has indicated, to suggest that he was a madman bent on world conquest and subjugation. In his recent massive and penetrating study of Soviet foreign policy, Adam B. Ulam concludes that "Soviet leaders sensibly enough concentrated on the area deemed of direct importance to the Soviet Union: eastern and southeastern Europe. They avoided any appearance of a many-sided attack on the Old World's positions that would increase American suspicions and countermeasures." There was no Soviet "blueprint" for the postwar period.<sup>96</sup>

In short, the analogy taught that the enigma of Soviet Russia could be fathomed only by the application of the historical lesson learned in the 1930's. Indeed, as distinguished scholars have written in the postwar period, totalitarian systems have exhibited undeniable similarities.<sup>97</sup> Yet it did not follow that Russia

<sup>92</sup> Wolfgang Sauer, "National Socialism: Totalitarianism or Fascism?" *American Historical Review*, LXXIII (Dec. 1967), 418-19; see also Hans Kohn, "Communist and Fascist Dictatorships: A Comparative Study," in *Revolutions and Dictatorships*, ed. *id.*, 182-83; Warren, *Liberals and Communism*, 210. The analogy also ignored the central role of racism and nation in fascism and class in Communism. (William Ebenstein, *Today's Isms* [2d ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958], 103.)

<sup>93</sup> Robert F. Smith, "American Foreign Relations, 1920-1942," in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (New York, 1968), 255.

<sup>94</sup> Sauer, "National Socialism," 419.

<sup>95</sup> Kennan, "Overdue Changes," 28.

<sup>96</sup> Adam B. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-67* (New York, 1968), 457, 345.

<sup>97</sup> See Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*; Friedrich and Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorships and Autocracy*; the authors in *Totalitarianism*, ed. Friedrich, who have been cited previously; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Neither War Nor Peace: The Struggle for Power in the Postwar World* (rev. ed., New York, 1962), 225. Both in reflecting and influencing American thought these works have tended to emphasize the similarity between Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism.



and Stalin in the cold war would always act in a manner similar to Germany and Hitler or that Russia was set inexorably on the path of military aggression. Many Americans thought the conclusion did follow; they ultimately concluded that it was useless to negotiate or to compromise with the Russians and that it was quite necessary to adopt an inflexible, "get-tough" policy toward them.

The American image of "Red Fascism" embraced emotion and simplism, and the compelling fictional creations and antiutopias of writers such as George Orwell, Aldous Huxley, and Arthur Koestler helped foster the crude and superficial analogy.<sup>98</sup> Orwell's *1984*, appearing at the time when American fears of totalitarianism had become obsessive, did much to shape American thought and opinion. For serious scholars and casual readers alike, the image of totalitarianism presented in *1984* has been a model, as unreal and probably as significant as that created by American leaders and the mass media from the war's end to the book's publication in America in 1949. So closely had the Nazi-Soviet image been woven into American thought that it proved difficult for many Americans to read the book without applying totalitarian stereotypes from the Nazi-Soviet analogy. A *Life* editorial, reprinted along with a condensed version of the book in *Reader's Digest*, for example, found the book "so good, indeed, so full of excitement and horror, that there is some danger that its message will be ignored." Clarifying the novel's message, *Life's* editors unhesitatingly identified the central and alarming figure of "Big Brother" as a "mating" of Hitler and Stalin and made it clear that Russia and Germany were to be substituted for the author's obvious use of London as the novel's setting, an interpretation perhaps more indicative of American perception than of Orwell's own intentions.<sup>99</sup>

It was in Kennan's introspective mind, however, that the impact of the total analogy and total image was best understood and articulated. Well aware of the component parts of the analogy, many of which he believed with the majority of Americans, Kennan also recognized the additional dream-like quality that the Red-fascist image had taken on in the American mind:

When I try to picture totalitarianism to myself as a general phenomenon, what comes into my mind most prominently is neither the Soviet picture nor the Nazi picture as I have known them in the flesh, but rather the fictional and symbolic images created by such people as Orwell or Kafka or Koestler or the early Soviet satirists. The purest expression of the phenomenon, in other words, seems to me to have been rendered not in its physical reality but in its power as a dream, or a nightmare. Not that it lacks

<sup>98</sup> George Orwell, *1984* (London, 1948); Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York, 1939); Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (New York, 1941). Shulman (*Beyond the Cold War*, 46) mentions Orwell's book as a possible model for the future of Soviet development. See also Friedrich and Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, 10, 91, 165.

<sup>99</sup> *Reader's Digest*, LV (Sept. 1949), 156. According to a close student of Orwell's work, Orwell was not indicting any one society; rather he was warning mankind "that in every modern society without exception there were tendencies which, allowed to develop unchecked, might bring us within a generation into a world where all the values of truth and justice, mercy and freedom, decency and equality . . . would be sacrificed to make way for a new world in which Utopia would emerge in its own gross and terrifying caricature." (George Woodcock, *The Crystal Spirit* [Boston, 1966], 59.)

the physical reality, or that this reality is lacking in power; but it is precisely in the way it appears to people, in the impact it has on the subconscious, in the state of mind it creates in its victims, that totalitarianism reveals most deeply its meaning and nature. Here, then, we seem to have a phenomenon of which it can be said that it is both a reality and a bad dream, but that its deepest reality lies strangely enough in its manifestation as a dream. . . .<sup>100</sup>

This nightmare of "Red Fascism" terrified a generation of Americans and left its mark on the events of the cold war and its warriors.

<sup>100</sup> Kennan, "Totalitarianism in the Modern World," 19–20.

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## Review Article

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### Recent Research in European Historical Demography

FRANKLIN F. MENDELS

ANNALES DE DÉMOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE, 1967 (ÉTUDES, CHRONIQUE, BIBLIOGRAPHIE, DOCUMENTS). Director, *P. Goubert*. Editor in chief, *J. Dupaquier*. (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1967. Pp. 558. 40 fr.)

AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY: FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *D. E. C. Eversley et al.* Editor: *E. A. Wrigley*. [Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Publication Number 1.] (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. xii, 283. \$7.50.)

HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DE LA POPULATION MONDIALE. By *Marcel R. Reinhard et al.* Preface by *Alfred Sauvy*. (Paris: Éditions Montchrestien. 1968. Pp. ix, 708. 90 fr.)

ONE of the intriguing aspects of historical demography lies in its capacity to be a rigorous study of the most intimate facet of the existence and behavior of individuals in the past. With the emergence of new methods in the last fifteen years, the potential value of research in that field has been considerably enhanced. Demographic research is, indeed, becoming an important requisite to our understanding of past societies.

In the mid-1950's work in the demography of preindustrial societies was still centered on the estimation of trends of total population and of approximate measures of nuptiality, fertility, mortality, and, more rarely, mobility. Both types of exercise often led to unreliable conclusions, for they were based on the direct exploitation of unreliable documents. For example, the estimation of the population of geographic units was based on poll tax returns, censuses of church communicants, and other incomplete enumerations to which constant "multipliers" were applied.<sup>1</sup> Vital rates were derived from totals of baptisms, marriages, and burials recorded in parish registers. The first type of source is the subject of two essays by Peter Laslett and W. A. Armstrong in *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*; these show how listings of inhabitants and censuses have been or can be used for the study of the distribution of a population by status, class, or occupation for the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Goran Ohlin, "No Safety in Numbers: Some Pitfalls of Historical Statistics," in *Industrialization in Two Systems*, ed. Henry Rosovsky (New York, 1966), 68-90; T. H. Hollingsworth, "The Importance of the Quality of the Data in Historical Demography," *Dædalus*, XCVII (Spring 1968), 415-32.

<sup>2</sup> David E. C. Eversley et al., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography: From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. A. Wrigley (New York, 1966), 160-208, 209-37.

Parish registers were the principal source for the study of population before the introduction of modern civil registration systems. Their exploitation according to the "aggregative method" (the tabulation of annual events for entire villages and the computation of approximate rates) allows the study of large areas over long periods of time.<sup>3</sup> A useful guide to "The Exploitation of Anglican Parish Registers by Aggregative Analysis" is supplied by D. E. C. Eversley in *English Historical Demography*. The relative imprecision, however, of some of the measures that can be thus derived has encouraged demographers to search for superior methods.

In 1956 Michel Fleury and Louis Henry published their first handbook on the exploitation of parish registers; it described the new method of reconstituting families on the basis of parish registers.<sup>4</sup> This method has been applied to the study of such areas as a Norman parish, villages in the region of Paris, and subsequently other villages in France, England, French Canada, Belgium, colonial Massachusetts, and Japan. At approximately the same time and following the same principles, historical demographers developed methods to exploit genealogies for the study of the demography of certain well-defined groups or social classes.<sup>5</sup> In 1965 Fleury and Henry published a new edition of the original handbook; to this Louis Henry later added an entirely new *Manuel de démographie historique*.<sup>6</sup> In *English Historical Demography*, E. A. Wrigley demonstrates the use of this method for English-speaking historians and in particular for users of English parish records. Like the works of Fleury and Henry, Wrigley's "Family Reconstitution," which is the pivotal essay in *English Historical Demography*, presents an extremely detailed and concrete formula for all the steps involved in the use of parish registers for the reconstitution of family histories.

The technique of reconstituting families entails gathering information on the demographic history of each family in a parish as collected from the parish registers for one to three centuries. This information, which is found in chronological order and separately in the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, is matched and assembled in family reconstitution forms, starting with the formation of each new family, that is, beginning with a marriage. Once a number of families have thus been reconstituted, it becomes possible to check the accuracy of the information provided in any of the registers and to obtain information that is otherwise often missing (such as age at marriage or death, or age and occupation of parents at the time of the birth of a child) and data that are beyond the scope of parish registers. From the reconstituted families one can estimate the

<sup>3</sup> See the contributions gathered in *Population in History*, ed. David V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> Michel Fleury and Louis Henry, *Des registres paroissiaux à l'histoire de la population* (Paris, 1956).

<sup>5</sup> T. H. Hollingsworth, "The Demography of the British Peerage," *Population Studies*, XVIII (Suppl., 1964), 3-108; Louis Henry, *Anciennes familles genevoises: XVI-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1956); and Sigismund Peller, "Births and Deaths among Europe's Ruling Families since 1500," in *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley.

<sup>6</sup> Michel Fleury and Louis Henry, *Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien* (Paris, 1965); Louis Henry, *Manuel de démographie historique* (Geneva, 1967).

average age at first marriage, age specific fertility, frequency of infecundity, average interval between marriage and first child and between successive child-births, age specific mortality, seasonal patterns of marriages and conceptions, and so forth. If the number of observations is sufficiently large, those observations can be broken down by generations or "cohorts," thus enabling the historian to observe and eventually to understand patterns of change. In short, modern demographic science becomes relevant to the historian in so far as he can obtain an extremely detailed and accurate view of the real demographic processes of pre-industrial populations.

This new method has, of course, revolutionized historical demography, but, unfortunately, it also has serious shortcomings. Good parish registers are not frequent, especially since they must cover long periods without interruption. The spelling of names was not strictly fixed in preindustrial Europe, and in certain areas the same surname occurred with high frequency, making the task of identification of family members more difficult and leading to inaccuracies. The reconstitution of families is, furthermore, restricted to those who did not emigrate from the territory covered by the parish registers under study. Since migrant families probably have different demographic characteristics, the selection of non-migrant families may result in bias. Finally, because this technique is time consuming, a single investigator may be limited to the study of one parish or a small number of parishes. As a consequence, he may be tempted to generalize from the results of such a narrow sample to the regional or even national level.<sup>7</sup>

These pitfalls are discussed in *English Historical Demography* and *Annales de démographie historique*, 1967.<sup>8</sup> In a stimulating article in the *Annales* for 1967, Abel Chatelain discusses the problem of migration. This article can, unfortunately, only set the stage for further studies of migration; there was great mobility at the local and regional level in the preindustrial era, but there is little in the way of precise documentation or knowledge about it. The *Annales* also focuses attention on the use of electronic computers in the analysis of parish registers, which, according to some, could lead to more economical research.

Generalizations based on the first parish monographs have been made on the regional and national levels, even though this is a hazardous enterprise. Louis Henry and the French National Institute for Demographic Studies, however, coordinated a large study of the population of France from 1670 to 1829. A stratified sample of rural parishes and towns was drawn, and the selected parishes were studied according to the family reconstitution and aggregative methods. Yves Blayo and L. Henry discuss this important project in the *Annales* for 1967.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Wrigley estimates that with due allowance for differences among workers and materials they deal with, the study of the reconstitution of a single parish of a thousand inhabitants over three centuries takes about fifteen hundred hours. The aggregative method is approximately a hundred times more rapid. (E. A. Wrigley, "Family Reconstitution," in *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, ed. *id.*, 97.)

<sup>8</sup> *Annales de démographie historique*, 1967 (*Études, chronique, bibliographie, documents*) (Paris, 1967). This is the fourth annual publication of the French *Société de démographie historique*.

The region of Brittany-Anjou is studied through twenty-one rural parishes that were selected in a sampling of one in a hundred parishes. This study represents, to my knowledge, the first application of the reconstitution method to a large area of a country. It should be noted, nonetheless, that studying a larger region in this manner does not solve the problem of migrations. While the universe from which the sample is drawn can be considered as closed to migrations, none of its constituent parishes are; thus, it is still hazardous to draw conclusions about the universe itself from the experience of these sample villages. In respect to this problem, it might have been preferable to select contiguous villages rather than dispersed ones, since in- and out-migration become smaller (in relative terms) as the boundaries of an area expand.

Even though the possible bias owing to the exclusion of migrants remains, this study takes an important step toward better knowledge of historical demography, in so far as the selected parishes can represent a regional pattern of parish demography. The results of this study, however, are far too numerous to be summarized here.

An ambitious attempt to present a vast synthesis of acquired knowledge in demographic history is *Histoire générale de la population mondiale*.<sup>9</sup> It covers not only the periods and areas for which its authors are specialists, but also extends from prehistory to the problems of present-day developing countries. The third edition of this book, which was first published in 1949, differs from the previous edition in that it contains several up-to-date revisions and new chapters by J. Dupaquier. Dupaquier ably summarizes the findings of the new methods of historical demography, in so far as they affect the preindustrial period.<sup>10</sup> The *Histoire générale* does not, however, incorporate recent findings for the nineteenth century. In order, therefore, to present here a summary of recent work, it will be necessary to draw on literature that has not been used in the *Histoire générale*.

There has been considerable change in our vision of the demographic history of Europe; these changes concern mainly the period with the most deficient records, that is, the "prestatistical age." The invention of the new methods largely accounts for this change. According to the older views, the demography of the old regime was characterized by high birth and death rates, early marriages but frequent celibacy, annual conceptions, and an average of twelve chil-

<sup>9</sup> Marcel R. Reinhard *et al.*, *Histoire générale de la population mondiale* (3d rev. ed., Paris, 1968). For a more detailed review of Reinhard *et al.* by this writer, see *Journal of Economic History*, XIX (June 1969), 387-88. *Annales de démographie historique*, 1967 also contains a summary by Mme. Pavla Horska of recent research by the late Ludmila Karnikova on the demography of the Czech lands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several smaller articles and summaries of theses, book reviews, and a large bibliographical section continuing that of the previous volumes. A few notes and documents are published in the back of the book, among which is a statistical series of vital events for the city of Paris, 1670-1821.

<sup>10</sup> See also Jacques Dupaquier "Sur la population française au xvii<sup>e</sup> et au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue historique*, CCXXXIX (Mar.-Apr. 1968), 43-79, to appear in English in the forthcoming *Essays in French Economic History*, ed. Rondo E. Cameron.



dren per completed family. This so-called natural pattern was seen as the cause of the slow population growth of the centuries preceding the demographic revolution, which is to say, the initial stage of the "demographic transition."

Recent work has focused on the fluctuations of births, deaths, and marriages. It has been shown that the last are most sensitive to economic inducements and deterrents, consisting, as far as has been demonstrated to date, mainly of the abundance and price of grain.<sup>11</sup> John Hajnal has shown that the West European marriage pattern in the period after the Middle Ages differed strikingly from the East European pattern of the same period as well as from that of the contemporary Western world: West Europeans' first marriages usually occurred at a generally later age, twenty-five to twenty-nine for men and twenty-three to twenty-six for women.<sup>12</sup> This evidence of postponement of marriage fits well with a picture of changes in age and frequency of marriage fluctuating in response to economic opportunities and hardships. Nor were these fluctuations and differentials restricted to nuptiality; fertility and mortality also presented both short- and long-run fluctuations.

Short-run fluctuations in fertility and mortality have been observed and are explained by the now-classical mechanism of subsistence crises.<sup>13</sup> Wrigley has shown, furthermore, that fertility and mortality in the parish of Colyton, Devon, varied not only in the short run, but could also vary according to long waves. Thus, the fertility of the married women from Colyton declined markedly between about 1630 and 1750, and life expectancy at birth fell between 1620 and 1700.<sup>14</sup> These troughs were inscribed within long periods of higher fertility and lower mortality. Consequently, historical demographers now recognize that voluntary population control was practiced in preindustrial Europe. Both *coitus interruptus* and induced abortion must have played a role, together with the postponement of marriages. At the same time, breast-feeding and the practice of taking infants to nurses in the country may have led, through lower fertility and higher infant mortality, to reduce the rate of population growth. At this point, however, answers to these questions remain tentative.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the observed differences in demographic patterns through time, spatial differences are uncovered as research proceeds. Differences between

<sup>11</sup> See the contributions by Jean Meuvret and Pierre Goubert in *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley; and *Actes du Colloque International de Démographie Historique (Liège, 18-20 avril 1963)*, ed. Paul Harsin and Étienne Hélin (Paris, 1966).

<sup>12</sup> *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley, 101-46.

<sup>13</sup> The sources are quoted in note 11, above.

<sup>14</sup> E. A. Wrigley, "Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XIX (Apr. 1966), 82-109, and "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, over Three Centuries," in *Historical Population Studies*, 546-80.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Galliano, "La mortalité infantile (indigènes et nourrissons) dans la banlieue sud de Paris à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1774-1794)," in *Annales de démographie historique*, 1966 (*Études, chronique, bibliographie, documents*) (Paris, 1967), 139-77; André Armengaud, "Les nourrices du Morvan au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Études et chronique de démographie historique 1964* (Paris, 1965), 131-39; John Knodel and Étienne van de Walle, "Breast Feeding, Fertility and Infant Mortality: An Analysis of Some Early German Data," *Population Studies*, XXI (Sept. 1967), 109-31.

urban and rural patterns assumed a great importance during the urbanization that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. Urbanization contributed to the reduction of the national rates of natural increase through the higher death rates or lower birth rates of the cities, or both. Wrigley has eloquently shown the national implications of the process of rural absorption by the city of London before the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Differences have also been made evident among the regions of Europe. Thus, Ansley Coale and his associates at Princeton University are undertaking a large project aimed at the study of the declining fertility of nineteenth-century Europe on the basis of statistics available from the smaller administrative units, such as *départements*, provinces, or counties. They have been decomposing the falling birth rate into nuptiality and marital fertility by standardizing the experience of the various provinces on that of the Hutterite population, known to have one of the highest attainable human fertility rates and thus to fit the experience of a "natural" pattern. They are, in effect, comparing the actual fertility and nuptiality experience of each European province with a hypothetical population of the same age distribution but a Hutterite age-specific fertility or nuptiality schedule.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the initial working hypothesis of this entire project was that before the nineteenth-century decline in European fertility, a pattern of uncontrolled fertility prevailed. One of the initial findings of the team, however, is the wide variety in the initial level of fertility and nuptiality in Europe at the inception of the great decline in fertility.<sup>18</sup>

French historical demographers have strenuously looked for the point at which fertility began to decline in France. While the villages in the region of Paris appear to have experienced a decline as early as 1760, Crulai in Normandy and Sainghin in French Flanders do not show a decline until a later date.<sup>19</sup> More recently, however, some of Pierre Goubert's students have found that the fertility of villages in the interior of Brittany increased in the later decades of the eighteenth century, while it was initially higher than elsewhere in France.<sup>20</sup> In view of what is generally believed of France's unique early decline in national fertility, this result is rather striking. There is, unfortunately, no reference in this

<sup>16</sup> E. A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750," *Past and Present* (No. 37, 1967), 44-70.

<sup>17</sup> Ansley J. Coale, "Factors Associated with the Development of Low Fertility: An Historic Summary," in United Nations, *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (4 vols., New York, 1966-67), II, 205-09, and "The Decline of Fertility in Europe from the French Revolution to World War II," in *Fertility and Family Planning*, ed. S. J. Behrman *et al.* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1969), 3-19; see also Étienne van de Walle, "Marriage and Marital Fertility," *Dædalus*, XCVII (Spring 1968), 486-501; Paul Demeny, "Early Fertility Decline in Austria-Hungary: A Lesson in Demographic Transition," *ibid.*, 502-22; Massimo Livi-Bacci, "Fertility and Population Growth in Spain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *ibid.*, 523-35; and John Knodel, "Law, Marriage and Illegitimacy in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Population Studies*, XX (Mar. 1967), 279-94.

<sup>18</sup> Coale, "Decline of Fertility."

<sup>19</sup> Jean Ganiage, *Trois villages de l'Île-de-France* (Paris, 1963); Étienne Gautier and Louis Henry, *La population de Crulai, paroisse normande* (Paris, 1958); Raymond Deniel and Louis Henry, "La population d'un village du nord de la France: Sainghin-en-Mélantois, de 1665 à 1851," *Population*, XX (July-Aug. 1965), 563-602.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Goubert, "Legitimate Fecundity and Infant Mortality in France During the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison," *Dædalus*, XCVII (Spring 1968), 593-603.

article to the socioeconomic structure underlying such a fascinating demographic contrast. Brittany was one of the poorer regions of France and suffered from population pressure. Population density was higher than average, and soil fertility was lower; thus, the peasants, living on minute plots of land, were bound to turn to spinning and weaving of linen in their cottages to supplement their sustenance, if the opportunity was offered to them. In this respect Brittany had much in common with the peasants of Maine, Flanders, Ireland, Scotland, the eastern Netherlands, Westphalia, and other regions of Europe. Phyllis Deane, W. A. Cole, and J. D. Chambers have already shown that an industrialization of this type, which could be called protoindustrialization, produced early marriages and high fertility.<sup>21</sup> Thus, there is little doubt that population growth was both stimulating for and stimulated by protoindustrialization. The exact mechanism by which this interaction actually operated—for it is agreed that there is a mechanism—is not well understood. Further research on strategically chosen areas should help to disentangle the nexus of such interactions, for there is a strong suggestion that a “national” demographic history is nonexistent. The contrasts among “national” histories of birth and death rates must be sought in the differences in geographic-economic regions composing various countries and in the convergence and divergence of regional rates.<sup>22</sup>

In other words, national demographic histories that were once believed to be unique, such as that of France, should rather be considered as the result of the occurrence of a unique structure whose components, nevertheless, have typical demographic characteristics, given their socioeconomic structure. Similarly, the low proportion of people married at the end of the nineteenth century in Ireland should not be treated as an exception; rather, it should be kept in mind that northwestern Scotland as well as some areas of Wales had similarly low rates.<sup>23</sup> In fact, recent studies of Irish demography cast strong doubt on some formerly well-accepted views.

The potato's rôle in Irish history is thus a passive rather than an active one. . . . At all events, once we have ruled out changing diet and marriage patterns as primary causes of the population growth, then the causes of that growth in Ireland need be no different from those which operated at the same time in other countries in north and west Europe, and which have still to be satisfactorily explained.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688–1959* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962), Chap. III; Jonathan D. Chambers, “The Vale of Trent 1670–1800,” *Economic History Review* (Suppl., No. 3, 1957); see also Rudolf Braun, *Industrialisierung und Volksleben* (Zurich, 1960); and Bernhard H. Slicher van Bath, *Een Samenleving onder spanning* (Assen, 1957).

<sup>22</sup> D. E. C. Eversley, “Population History and Local History,” in *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, ed. Wrigley, “Population, Economy and Society,” in *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley, and “Mortality in Britain in the Eighteenth Century: Problems and Prospects,” in *Actes du Colloque International*, ed. Harsin and Hélin.

<sup>23</sup> Coale, “Decline of Fertility,” 13.

<sup>24</sup> L. M. Cullen, “Irish History without the Potato,” *Past and Present* (No. 40, 1968), 82; see also Michael Drake, “Marriage and Population Growth in Ireland, 1750–1845,” *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XVI (Dec. 1963), 301–13; cf. K. H. Connell, “Land and Population in Ireland 1780–1845,” *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley; William L. Langer, “Europe's Initial Population Explosion,” *American Historical Review*, LXIX (Oct. 1963), 1–17; and Joseph Lee, “Marriage and Population in Pre-Famine Ireland,” *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XXI (Aug. 1968), 283–95.

Indeed, the demographic-economic structure of Ireland much resembles that of Brittany or Flanders, where an impoverished population was able to survive in the eighteenth century because of a widespread cottage industry that produced textiles for rich and poor in urban Europe as well as in the Spanish American colonies. Thus, in 1841, 30 per cent of the total working population in Ireland was employed in "industry," most of which was protoindustry.<sup>25</sup> Contrary to the cases of Lancashire, the Midlands, or Alsace, the protoindustry of Brittany, Ireland, and Flanders failed to convert itself into modern urban industry. As a consequence the population of these three regions, which had become dependent on the cottage industry, underwent serious hardships. In Ireland and elsewhere 1846 was by no means simply the result of the potato crisis. The shortage assumed tragic consequences because the populations had already been impoverished by the decadence of the old cottage industries. P. Razzell has argued this case for Ireland.<sup>26</sup> For him, however, the growth of population was itself promoted primarily by smallpox inoculation. "Inoculation against smallpox could theoretically explain the whole of the increase in population and, until other explanations are convincingly documented, it is an explanation which must stand as the best one available."<sup>27</sup>

Razzell has thus continued the controversy begun in Talbot Griffith's *Population Problems in the Age of Malthus*.<sup>28</sup> This classic work showed that the death rate began to decline before the birth rate in eighteenth-century England; the book provoked both the emergence of a demographic transition "theory" and criticism aimed at its empirical foundations by T. H. Marshall, H. J. Habakkuk, Thomas McKeown and R. J. Brown, John T. Krause, and William Petersen.<sup>29</sup> The controversy has generated much useful thinking and research. The initial question, however, will probably never be answered. As the results of more research appear, it will be increasingly difficult to speak of national patterns and differences.

This brief look at historical demography shows the impetus and vitality evidenced in past years in the emergence of new methods, new research monographs, and new conclusions. These developments have led, as has been pointed out, to the revision of some accepted views; they have also pointed out new fields of exploration and raised new questions. The nature of the relationships between demographic and other aspects of social behavior in the past, a subject on which some historical demographers have focused in recent studies, remains

<sup>25</sup> T. W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland* (Manchester, Eng., 1957), 767.

<sup>26</sup> P. E. Razzell, "Population Growth and Economic Change in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century England and Ireland," in *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J. D. Chambers*, ed. Eric L. Jones and G. E. Mingay (London, 1967), 260-81.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.*, "Population Change in Eighteenth-Century England: A Reinterpretation," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XVIII (Aug. 1965), 331.

<sup>28</sup> G. Talbot Griffith, *Population Problems in the Age of Malthus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1926).

<sup>29</sup> See *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley; John T. Krause, "Some Aspects of Population Change, 1690-1790," in *Land, Labour and Population*, 187-205; William Petersen, "The Demographic Transition in the Netherlands," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (June 1960), 334-47.

to a large degree hypothetical. If historical demography could illuminate this problem, it would no doubt benefit all disciplines engaged in the study of social functioning and change in the past as well as the present.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Several important articles and books have appeared since the present manuscript was submitted. In particular, see Michael Drake, *Population and Society in Norway, 1735-1865* (Cambridge, Eng., 1969); T. H. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1969); and E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (London, 1969).

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXXIV, 1965, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 502.)

THIS latest volume of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* contains contributions from thirty-five nations, the Vatican, and five international organizations. W. Stull Holt, formerly managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, and Thomas T. Helde, professor of history at Georgetown University, served on behalf of the American Historical Association as members of the committee representing the United States. The new volume contains 8,314 numbered entries, including both articles and books, and in some instances several entries are lumped together under one number. Brief annotations often accompany entries when titles are not self-explanatory. For books, occasionally a book review is cited.

The table of contents is in German in this volume, but the arrangement is the same as that consistently employed in recent years. An introductory section is devoted to general historical bibliographies. The regular sequence of entries begins with Chapter A, on auxiliary sciences, and Chapter B, on handbooks and general surveys. Chapter C is concerned with prehistory. From that point through Chapter O, the pattern is roughly chronological, with five chapters devoted to modern history since the Middle Ages and divided on a topical basis. Chapter P concentrates on international relations; Chapter R is allocated to Asia. The final three chapters revert chronologically to Africa, America, and Oceania, respectively, from primitive times to colonization.

No other bibliographical tool in the discipline of history is comparable to this publication. It attempts the impossible, as bibliographies of large segments of history inescapably do. It cannot and does not pretend to be a complete listing of books and articles in the subject fields upon which it touches. Yet it has undeniable value. It serves the scholar looking for something outside of his own field, and it assists the librarian in helping the layman. It provokes interest by references to items such as a French review of Samuel E. Morison's *The Oxford History of the American People*, a Russian article on the antislavery movement in the United States, or a German study of Abraham Lincoln and the freeing of the slaves. American historians are still to a large extent unaccustomed to taking foreign studies of the United States seriously, just as foreign scholars have until relatively recently been unable to view this country as worthy of serious historical study. But programs, centers, and journals on American studies are now emerging all over the world, and increasing numbers of foreign scholars are coming to the United States to examine our repositories of sources.



Historians in America can find comfort in the continuation of this series, as in the success of publications such as the American Bibliographical Center's *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life* and in the announced revision of the *Harvard Guide to American History*. Yet other signs, such as the perilous status of *Writings on American History*, which is destined to be discontinued unless new plans are developed for supporting it, reveal an indifference on the part of the American historical profession to bibliographical tools. The *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* serves a valid purpose if it does no more than point to the mushrooming of historical literature, the growing desire of scholars in many nations to examine the history of other nations from the original sources, and the mounting need to develop an international scheme of bibliographical control.

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OLIVER H. ORR, JR.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF POWER: HISTORICAL ESSAYS IN HONOR OF  
HAJO HOLBORN. Edited by *Leonard Krieger* and *Fritz Stern*. (Garden City,  
N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 464. \$6.95.)

THIS *Festschrift* honoring the late Sterling Professor of History at Yale is an outstanding example of the genre. Edited by Leonard Krieger of Chicago and Fritz Stern of Columbia, it comprises twenty-four essays by friends as well as by former students of Hajo Holborn. Among the authors are several of the most eminent scholars in the field of European and specifically of German history. Several of the contributions are of a theoretical character, but for the most part they deal with specific historical personages or situations, ranging in time from the Renaissance to the mid-twentieth century.

*Festschriften* commonly suffer from lack of unity, reflecting as they do the diversity of interest of a scholar's former students rather than any of his own major concerns. In the effort to avoid the compilation of a miscellany the editors decided to focus the various contributions on the problem of power and the responsible use of power, a problem of overriding importance in the present as in the past. As Professors Krieger and Stern remark in their introduction, the nature and use of power was, if not *the* central theme of Holborn's own work, at least *a* central theme. The concept of power remains elusive and bewildering, to be sure, yet it is inherent in every political situation and can be a force for good as well as for evil. One can hardly expect a collection of essays by many authors to produce any specific conclusions. The present volume does not add significantly to our understanding of the theory or practice of power but, with few exceptions, the various essays deal directly or at least tangentially with one or another aspect of the problem and so serve to highlight its complexities.

Among the contributions that focus on the central theme Hanna Gray's discussion of the thought of Machiavelli stresses the fact that for the Florentines, politics and the struggle for power were the very essence of reality, that politics indeed was the art of securing and retaining power. Roland Bainton's review of Erasmian thought is equally effective, especially in the distinctions drawn between the power of princes, the spiritual power, and the power of the written word. Dietrich Gerhard analyzes Richelieu's domestic and foreign policies and stresses the subordination of both to the service of the state, while Andrew Lossky provides a stimulating review of Louis XIV's conception of the royal power and its application to the interests of the state. Two of the liveliest and most illuminating papers are those by Gordon Craig on Schiller and the problems of power and by Henry Roberts on Lenin and power. Craig demonstrates the dramatist's effort to fathom the depths of the problem, particularly in *Wallensteins*

*Tod*, which hinges on the illegitimate and arbitrary use of power. Roberts' keen analysis of Lenin's role in the Bolshevik revolution and his use of power in the remaking of Russia is equally rewarding.

Among the many other interesting papers included in the Holborn *Festschrift* I shall comment only on those that seemed to me particularly valuable. Almost all of them deal with modern German history. Theodore Hamerow analyzes the controversial causes of the Revolution of 1848 and presents his own provocative conclusions. Otto Pflanze recalls the German conception of the *Rechtsstaat* and the emphasis on the need for responsible government. He contrasts Frederick the Great's and Bismarck's use of great power with the appalling immorality and abuse of power on the part of the Nazis. Fritz Stern writes understandingly of Bethmann-Hollweg, his almost abnormal sense of responsibility and his aversion to the intrigues and maneuvers of German political life. Richard Hunt's evaluation of Ebert as a man who had power thrust upon him and whose tendency was to use power conservatively seems altogether judicious. That the rather colorless president of the Weimar Republic had so deep a sense of political responsibility and was so ready to put the needs of the country above the interests of party had much to do with the salvation of Germany after the debacle of 1918.

Of more general interest are Peter Gay's analysis of Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, with its concern for the pros and cons of individualism, and Felix Gilbert's consideration of the political role of German professors as reflected in Meinecke's study of three generations of scholars. That such influential teachers and publicists as Gustav Schmoller and Max Weber were almost obsessed with the notion of world power had a significant bearing on the mentality and politics of Wilhelminian Germany. Mention must be made also of Arno Mayer's searching inquiry into the domestic causes of World War I, a subject long neglected and clearly of prime importance not only with reference to the war but to the entire development of European society in the sequel.

The reviewer of a *Festschrift* is apt to be left with a sense of inadequacy and frustration, especially if he is dealing with so distinguished a volume as the present. The contributions here are almost all significant as well as interesting or suggestive. They do honor indeed to the breadth of interest, the conscientious scholarship, and the liberal humanitarianism of Hajo Holborn. One can only regret that, as in the case of all *Festschriften*, most of these fine contributions, since they will not be catalogued separately in libraries, will be soon lost from sight and will fail to have the impact they deserve.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

WILLIAM L. LANGER

MODERNIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO YOSHITAKA KOMATSU, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMIC HISTORY IN WASEDA UNIVERSITY, ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY, 1 APRIL, 1966. (Tokyo: Ichijo Shoten. 1968. Pp. xiv, 538.)

IN light of specialists' near-obsession with the problem of modernization in Japan, in particular, it seems strange to be told that there was a period when Japanese scholars looked to Britain as the classical example of modernization. Immediately after World War II, because of the loss of self-confidence resultant from Japan's unprecedented defeat, Japanese scholars regarded their nation as underdeveloped in comparison with the Western powers. They took even a "sadistic" view of their country, emphasizing

the "feudalistic" aspects of modern Japan while deploring its backwardness and "warp." American history did not attract them because the United States had never experienced the "feudal age." As a result, the study of British history became very popular.

In the 1950's, following the Korean conflict, the pendulum swung to the other extreme along with Japan's recovery. Japanese scholars began to view their country's history with "self-love," comparing Japan with other countries in Asia rather than with Western powers. Under direct influence of the Reischauer line, they began the re-evaluation of feudal Japan, hewing rather more closely to the thesis of John W. Hall.

In his article—the first in this collection and, if it were translated from the Japanese, potentially most useful to the non-specialist—Professor Takeomi Ochi of Kyoto University deplores the tendency of Japanese studies to be susceptible to outside influences. He criticizes the rigidity of "Marxist" versus "Whig" interpretations, the dualism of "progressive" versus "reactionary," "good" versus "evil," and "light" versus "darkness." He suggests the possibility of, and indeed the need for, a more flexible approach.

As a matter of fact, the career of Professor Yoshitaka Komatsu, to whom this volume was dedicated, admirably illustrates the gradual shift of Japanese historians' interests. Born on April 2, 1906 in Tokyo, Komatsu was graduated from Waseda University in 1928. In 1934 he was appointed lecturer there. In 1937–38 he attended the London School of Economics and then returned to Japan to become a professor at Waseda in 1942. In 1959 he served as a delegate of the Japan Science Council to the annual conference of the Economic History Society held in England. In 1964 he was visiting professor at the University of Melbourne. His books in Japanese have dealt with feudalism in medieval England and the British agrarian and industrial revolutions. He has contributed articles in English on Japanese local and economic history to international journals.

Many of the book's essays, too, are indicative of the direction demanded by Ochi in his topic essay, "A Consideration of the Problem of 'Modernization.'" Specialists on the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods are represented by Yoshinaga Irimajiri and Kazuma Hattori. The latter describes, in Japanese, the paternalistic attitude of the Meiji government toward the entrepreneur and the role played by European capital in Japan's industrialization. The article by Takao Shimazaki, also in Japanese, on Giichi Wakayama (1840–1891) clearly makes the point that this early economist was a product of both indigenous and alien influences. From the Tokugawa tradition came the doctrine of "governing society and saving the people"; from Western ideas, his advocacy of protectionism.

In an English-language essay, "Economic Growth: Myth or Reality," William and Helga Woodruff describe diffusion of technology in the century from 1860 to 1960 in terms of intercontinental, rather than international, economic relations. They also deny the commonly held belief among Japanese scholars that "economic theory is central to economic life," asserting that economic growth or decline takes place "independently of theoretical notions."

In another essay, "Economic Development and English Politics in the Nineteenth Century," also in English, H. J. Habakkuk provides data from English history on economic development as an independent factor. As the first country to industrialize, England steadily adapted traditional political institutions to changes in social structure, not without strain but without a revolutionary break.

America as a second-round modernizer, carrying innovation and technology to

higher levels, is the subject of two essays in Japanese: Masaji Arai, "'American Invasion' and British Industry," and Kin'ichiro Toba, "Mass Production and Mass Marketing as an American System."

Tomiju Masuda, who also wrote the preface in Japanese, contributes an essay "On the Causes of Retardation of Capitalism in Russia." This is in fact a synthesis of Abramov's views published in 1941.

Takashi Kotonno chooses the "equitable society" of Australia contrasted with Victorian England to illustrate—in "Modernization of Australia and the Migrant Labourer," written in Japanese—the fact that a democratic political framework may come before, and economic development, after.

Other essays range widely: the economic status of medieval European villages (M. M. Postan); the Saxon village (Toru Kurosu); population, agriculture, and villages in Germany (Naoji Nozaki), in England (Heiichiro Matsumura), and in medieval Spain (Yoshiyuki Kondo). Detailed studies of functions concern local commerce in early Meiji Japan (Ken'ichiro Shoda) and, with regard to England, machine export (Akihiko Yoshioka); the entrepreneur, James Nasmyth (Sakae Tsunoyama); industrialization (Kunihiro Watanabe); agriculture (John Hyun Kim); "high farming" (Shigeaki Shiina); and enclosures (Shin'ichi Yonekawa). A postscript is added by Kiichiro Nakagawa.

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ARDATH W. BURKS

KRATKAIA VSEMIIRNAIA ISTORIIA [Concise World History]. In two volumes.

Edited by A. Z. Manfred. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966; 1967. Pp. 591; 508.)

NINETEEN Soviet historians, among them such distinguished scholars as Academicians M. V. Nechkina, S. D. Skazkin, and A. A. Guber, Drs. A. Z. Manfred, M. S. Alperovich, and A. N. Kheifets, have collaborated in the preparation of this *Concise World History* for popular consumption at home and abroad. The preface claims that the volumes will "explain conditions which have determined the development of human society, conditions which mark the path of historical progress, causes which explain the glorious development and the swift decline of former states." It also promises to explain why the "total victory of communism is inevitable."

The contents of Volume I discuss human history from primeval times to the October Revolution of 1917. Divided into periods on ancient, medieval, and modern history, half the volume concentrates on the last epoch mentioned. The Marxist dialectic pervades the volume in chapters such as "The Origins of Feudal Relations in Asia"; "Struggles of Peoples of Eastern and Central Europe, China, Central Asia, and the Caucasus with Foreign Invaders in the Eighteenth Century"; "The Rise of Capitalist Relations in Western Europe." Chapters on the modern period examine "The Development of Capitalism in Europe and America"; "The Rise of the Labor Movement and the Origins of Scientific Communism"; "Popular Revolutionary Movements in Asia"; "The Capitalist World at the End of the Nineteenth Century"; "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism"; "The Shift of the Center of the World Revolutionary Movement to Russia and the Awakening of Asia." The litany of Marxist Soviet historical analyses is further evident in Volume II. Chapter titles include "The Great October Socialist Revolution: Start of a New Era in the History of Man"; "The Construction of Socialism in the USSR"; "The National Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the Period Between the Two World

Wars"; "World War II: The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People"; "The Soviet Union after World War II and the Building of Communism in the USSR"; "The World Socialist Systems"; "The Struggle of the Forces of War and Peace." Of 574 pages of text in Volume I, 131 deal with problems of Russian history. Of 477 pages of text in Volume II, 160 are related specifically to the history of the Soviet Union.

Discussions of the contemporary world are typified by the Soviet assessment of Latin American problems, which are described as emanating from the anti-imperialist struggle against the United States. Comments on Mexican history, for example, incorporate in narrative form praise of the Cardenas administration; the growth of the working class population and the simultaneous expansion of private capitalism; the growth of state capitalism and the overwhelming influence of North American capital investments in the Mexican economy. Agrarian reform is considered inadequate, and statistics are employed to explain how fewer than ten thousand landowners in Mexico control eighty million hectares of land, while at the same time, 2.5 million Mexican peasants and farm laborers live landless.

A sense of mid-nineteenth-century optimism and a rationalist faith in social improvement permeate the text. Claims of scientific accuracy and the use of the latest materials available to Soviet and foreign scholars are not reassuring in a work that remains devoid of footnotes, contains no bibliography, and is distinguished by a single-minded application of the narrowest principles of Marxism-Leninism. In effect, errors of omission abound, and the heavy emphasis on Russian history at the expense of other subjects is all too plain.

The volumes are a classic example of simplistic party-line pedantry, which abounds in Soviet work aimed at the mass reader. They are useful as a preliminary guide to the Marxist periodization of world history.

*University of Arizona*

J. GREGORY OSWALD

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE DE L'IDÉE DE NATURE. By *Robert Lenoble*. ["L'Évolution de l'Humanité."] ([Paris:] Éditions Albin Michel. 1969. Pp. 446. 9.50 fr.)

THE CONCEPT OF THE SELF IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Jean A. Perkins*. [Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, Volume XCIV.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1969. Pp. 162.)

WHEN Abbé Robert Lenoble died in 1959, among the unfinished manuscripts of the great Mersenne scholar was an essay on the idea of nature in antiquity. Commissioned for the collection "L'Évolution de l'Humanité," it was intended to be part of a vaster work incorporating as well Lenoble's lectures given at the University of Montreal on the notion of nature from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment. Under the editorship of Father Joseph Beade, the two manuscripts now are joined in the series for which they originally had been intended.

What results is unfortunately a mismatch. In his essay Lenoble resolutely condemns the survivals of Positivism in writings on the history of science. Despite Duhem (and ignoring both Burtt and Koyré) he considers most scholars to be unable to appreciate the fact that pre-seventeenth-century conceptions of nature, however invalid they may be by contemporary standards, possessed an interior rationality in that they were legitimate responses to psychological needs. The historian must comprehend with sympathy the "mécanismes de la conscience" behind the theories of nature of any given epoch. Of course, what Thomas Kuhn calls a historiographical revolution within the



past decade has accomplished precisely this; and today Lenoble seems a bit like someone tilting at windmills. In his Montreal lectures, however, the sense of compassion that Lenoble feels for Aristotle, Pliny, and the ancient atomists does not necessarily extend to the philosophes and scientists of the Enlightenment. He squarely lays the blame for the spiritual crisis of our time at their feet. They broke the link between physics and metaphysics, and "la Nature est devenu l'objet de la science seule, c'est-à-dire, selon l'acception nouvelle du terme, des techniques. . . . [Man] se glorifie de se voir machine, sans prévoir les lendemains amers. Lui aussi est devenu objet de science, de technique." The crematory ovens may well reflect, as Lenoble believes, the pyrrhic nature of the victory of the new Prometheus. As polemic, the Montreal lectures read as well as Burke. But they do not fit at all with Lenoble's earlier plea for sympathetic understanding; and one wonders with bewilderment how he would have reconciled his methodological approach towards ancient conceptions of Nature with modern ones had he lived long enough to complete his "esquisse."

On the other hand, Professor Perkins analyzes the concept of the self during the French Enlightenment in a thoroughly dispassionate way. In her view, orthodox Catholic writers of the eighteenth century customarily continued to adhere to reason and absolute standards in describing and analyzing the self, while post-Lockean empiricism offered the alternative approach in that it "reduced man to a series of sensations, each existing in isolation and producing a sense of personal identity through mechanical relationships." Finally, unable to accept the consequences of either rationalist thought or empirical sensationalism, certain philosophes grappled with an organic methodology sufficiently different to meet the objections of the older schools.

After introducing the problems of terminology, Professor Perkins somewhat impressionistically outlines the background of both the rationalist and empirical interpretations. A long chapter treats the means by which thinkers such as Helvétius, Bonnet, Lelarge de Lignac, and Condillac attempted to know the self. Beneath the surface of their thought was a sense of *inquiétude*, and it is with Rousseau and Diderot (each treated in separate chapters) that a genuine break-through takes place; the first occurs in solitary investigations of the preconscious state, the second in a realization of the perpetually developing self dependent upon and contributing to the external world. Neither Rousseau nor Diderot resolved the problem satisfactorily, to be sure, but each opened up channels of exploration for the future. The very great merit of Professor Perkins' book lies in its illustration of this fact.

*University of Oregon*

RAYMOND BIRN

LA INDEPENDENCIA DE LA AMÉRICA ESPAÑOLA Y LA DIPLOMACIA ALEMANA. Foreword by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. Introduction, selection, and translation by *Karl Wilhelm Körner*. [Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani." Documento para la historia argentina, Number 41.] ([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1968.] Pp. 288.)

THE recent revival of European scholarly interest in Latin America makes the publication of this study of special interest, with its focus on a period when events in Spanish America constituted one of the most important problems debated among European diplomats.

In the turmoil and changes that rocked and transformed Europe in the period from the fall of the Bastille to the battle of Waterloo, the German states and Spanish



American colonies were linked in a strange relationship. While the latter were moving toward independence and a future of their own making, the German Empire was disintegrating into diverse parts with different interests and national directions in a Europe that preferred to keep them separate. While Austria concentrated its energies on maintaining peaceful legitimacy on the Continent, Prussia and the Hanseatic cities reached out to strengthen their overseas trade with Spanish America where Silesian textiles and hardwares had already found eager markets.

Frustrated throughout two decades by the British policy, by Spain's refusal to open its colonies to neutral trade, and by Metternich's reluctance to disturb the *status quo* in the face of Ferdinand's demands for aid in recovering the Spanish American colonies, the Germans succeeded in establishing direct trade only after Latin American independence had been won, although German products had continued to reach the markets through other shipping.

Centering his emphasis on Buenos Aires, always one of the most important ports for the German trade to South America, Dr. Korner has selected seventy-six documents covering the period from 1806 to 1827, largely from German archives, translated them into Spanish, arranged them chronologically, and accompanied them by a scholarly summary and evaluation of their contents. It is his purpose to supplement the earlier works by Iso Brante Schweide (Buenos Aires, 1932) and Manfred Kossok (Berlin, 1964) so as to bring the role of the German states into proper focus in the study of the diplomatic background of the period of Spanish American independence.

This volume represents a creditable addition to the distinguished list of publications by the institute directed by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois. The book not only will be useful to students in Latin American, European, and diplomatic history, but it also deserves attention from social scientists interested in fresh details and new insights into both German and Argentine life and society during this critical period in which the traditional merged with the new to form the patterns of the nineteenth century.

*University of Miami*

IONE S. WRIGHT

QUEST FOR THE NEW MORAL WORLD: ROBERT OWEN AND THE OWENITES IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA. By J. F. C. Harrison. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. xi, 392. \$7.95.)

J. F. C. HARRISON promises to do more than elucidate the ideas of Robert Owen and recount his life. Historians such as Max Beer, G. D. H. Cole, and W. H. Armytage have already discussed Owen's ideas and placed them in the tradition of early socialist and utopian thought, while legions of biographers from George Holyoake, in 1859, to Sir Alfred Davies, in 1948, have told the story of the young Welshman who made a fortune in textiles and spent it in a life of philanthropy and writing. Harrison promises no rehash of Owen's ideas, no retelling of his life. Instead he promises to apply the method of "comparative study" and "some techniques of intellectual history" so that the ideas of Owen and his followers can be seen in "some wider social, intellectual and psychological reference." The promise raises great expectations, only some of which are fulfilled.

Take, for example, his use of the method of comparative study. Harrison certainly brings out nicely how the sectarian, evangelical, and radical nature of American religion and society favored an Owenism that was more communitarian and egalitarian, while the hierarchic traditions of British society and the pressing abuses of the poor laws and factory labor favored an Owenism strongly paternalistic and philanthropic.

But after this initial discussion, Harrison's use of the method of comparative study is more rudimentary. It is rather with the techniques of intellectual history that Harrison makes his greatest gains.

He is particularly illuminating in his discussion of that curious Owenite mixture of Enlightenment rationalism and millenarian fervor. Harrison argues that Owen and his followers secularized the deep religious feelings of the time, that they turned millennial hopes for the advent of a new Jerusalem into visions of a classless community laid out in parallelograms, just as they turned religious hopes for the rebirth of man into the Enlightenment's promise to remake man through education. In his discussion of millennialism Harrison mentions the more theoretical analyses of that subject by Sylvia Thrupp, Norman Cohen, and E. L. Tuveson. But it is not really reference to those analyses that illumines Harrison's discussion of millennialism so much as it is his concentration on such lesser Owenites as James Elisha Smith, John Finch, and James P. Greaves. Harrison's use of the techniques of intellectual history is rather traditional. He is not a theoretician. But he is solid in his emphasis on the lesser figures who make up intellectual history, and it is this emphasis that makes his study so valuable. Lesser thinkers live closer to the mundane and deal more intimately with those institutional, political, and social problems through which all social ideas filter. In treating these men with such penetration Harrison has moved toward a kind of rough-hewn sociology of ideas.

But, alas, he has done so only partially. He too often falls back on retelling the often-told, troubled history of New Harmony or to reviewing the often-discussed ideas of Owen on religion, education, and free will. Harrison also, on rare occasions, relaxes his usual sure and careful judgment. It is doubtful that, as he claims, paternalism was expiring in the 1790's. It is also doubtful that belief in Owen's ideas was as extensive as he suggests. In measuring that extent Harrison cites the *Weekly Dispatch* and its circulation of 40,000 in the year 1840. He omits, however, to note that the *Dispatch* in 1840 explicitly denied that it was Owenite. The real Owenite journal, the *New Moral World*, had a circulation of only 2,000 in a country of sixteen million, and its readers did not sit in Parliament or on the bench. The Owenite movement is one of the most admirable expressions of man's dream for a better world, but it was not, at the time, nearly as momentous as the outpouring of literature on it since then has suggested.

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DAVID ROBERTS

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume XII, THE SHIFTING BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES, 1898-1945. Edited by C. L. Mowat. A second edition of Volume XII, THE ERA OF VIOLENCE. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xxvii, 844. \$10.50.)

IN his introduction to this revised edition of the twelfth volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History*, originally published in 1960 as *The Era of Violence, 1898-1945* (*AHR*, LXVI [July 1961], 994-95), Professor Mowat has rejected the earlier stress on violence and characterizes this period in terms of the new forces that made the world of 1945 so different from that of 1900. Of these forces, the one that most impresses him is the relative decline of European influence—a decline reflected both in the liberation of most non-European peoples from European rule, and in the shift of predominant military power from Europe to the United States and to a Soviet Union that is less of a European power than Russia used to be. Likewise stressed in this in-

terpretation are the demand for greater equality on the part of the underprivileged in all countries; a fundamental change in the style of everyday living as a result of technological and industrial developments; and unprecedented advances in basic science which have transformed all aspects of human activity.

This broad view of change in the first half of the twentieth century is reflected in the organization of the volume. The contributions of sixteen of the original collaborators have been retained and fifteen new authors have been added, with a significant increase in the size of the volume. Included among the new authors are Percival Spear on India, George Kennan on the Soviet Union, 1917-1939, Elizabeth Wiskemann on Central and Eastern Europe, Maurice Crouzet on Western Europe, and Sir Llewelyn Woodward on the diplomacy of the Second World War.

The preparation of such a volume is in many ways a frustrating task, for it is supposed to be more than a textbook but cannot develop any subject at sufficient length to offer more than a brief summary of developments. In writing about the modern world in the first half of the twentieth century, what can one say about the development of philosophy in thirteen pages or about literature in thirty? In the case of literature, A. E. Dyson has solved the problem by limiting himself very largely to writing in English, but that is certainly not the best solution. There are no bibliographies or maps, and one does not have much sense of a central interpretation. The general interpretation of the editor in his introductory chapter does not appear to have made a deep impression on the other contributors, and one does not have much sense of a common approach. At the same time the volume as a whole provides a useful introduction for the layman to this eventful period from an essentially British perspective, and many of the chapters are enlightening brief essays by distinguished scholars.

*Princeton University*

CYRIL E. BLACK

KING LEOPOLD, ENGLAND, AND THE UPPER NILE, 1899-1909. By Robert O. Collins. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 346. \$8.75.)

COLLINS' latest offering is an analytical, fully researched study of King Leopold's megalomaniacal drive for a Nilotic Congolese empire, seen from the European point of view. (In the future, Collins will publish a second volume about the African reactions to European rule.) While the book is set in Africa, and touches on African affairs, it is actually a study of European diplomatic history, or, better, of the strategy of empire. From the founding of the Congo Free State in 1885 until his death in 1909, Leopold II sought to obtain control over the Nile. He fought with legal claims and treaty rights "put forward with persuasive skill accentuated by daring expeditions in Africa and bold strokes of diplomacy in Europe." He almost succeeded, and his policies, in the final analysis, were the most difficult with which Great Britain had to cope. The will of one man inevitably failed in face of the overwhelming strategic needs of the British Empire: "beyond the purely Egyptian interests in the Nile and British interests in Egypt, for twenty years Britain's Nile policy had been the core of an ever-widening imperial strategy in Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East, so that regions geographically remote from the Upper Nile were relentlessly tied to Britain's Nile policy and in turn enhanced its importance. The inhabitants of the Southern Sudan were but the pawns of an empire, and their interests were ignored for the sake of kings and queens and their checkerboard imperiums."

Notwithstanding the historical inevitability of the story, its scenario and its main

characters make for excellent and informative reading. Collins has written skillfully and well: although one knows the outcome, one is engrossed with the maneuvers and intrigues of Leopold and the ripostes and reactions of the British. Collins has made a contribution not only to the history of modern European imperialism, but also to the writing of good history. I look forward to the second volume of his study with interest and excitement.

*Michigan State University*

HAROLD G. MARCUS

## Ancient

THE RISE OF THE DORIANS. By *Ivor Gray Nixon*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xix, 170. \$6.95.)

To learn what happened in Greece in the late second millennium B.C., we must rely on syntheses. Recently a number of syntheses have been published by archaeologists who on other occasions have been responsible for the intensive investigation of particular sites or details of Aegean civilization. These, though they inevitably differ in detail, give the appearance of reliability, for we are assured that their authors not only know by close acquaintance some parts of the evidence, but exercise great care in treating what is beyond their experience. Here, however, is a synthesis made from some of these syntheses, and it gives the appearance rather of ingenuity than of reliability. One striking ingenuity is the discovery of a single agent responsible for almost all the great events we know or suspect happened in the Aegean in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries.

A resynthesizer must accept part of the ancient tradition, part of the work of several expert archaeologists, and part of the theorizing of other synthesizers. But he must also reject more than he accepts. He cannot, for lack of space, present his arguments for each item accepted, to say nothing of those items rejected. He must be content with the single argument that the final synthetic result seems to be a unified structure, incorporating many undoubted facts and generally accepted theories. Such a construction may well fascinate and stimulate the reader, but it cannot hide the author's lack of acquaintance with accessible sources used by the original synthesizers. Otherwise, for example, he would know that the origin of the vivid phrase, which "seems to have crept into the history books," about the "wild spring day" on which Knossos fell is to be found in the excavator's vivid report of his own vivid experience.

*University of Wisconsin, Madison*

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

OLYMPIA IN DER POLITIK DER GRIECHISCHEN STAATENWELT (VON 776 BIS ZUM ENDE DES 5. JAHRHUNDERTS). By *Augusta Höhle*. ([Tübingen: Fotodruck Präzis Barbara v. Spangenberg KG.] 1968. Pp. ix, 212.)

THIS careful study uses literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources to trace Olympia's role in the shifting politics of the Greek, Sicilian, and South Italian states and the political uses that athletes made of their Olympic victories. The story is traced chronologically within each geographic area. The early period is described in much detail; the fifth century account is quite cursory. Throughout, Olympia appears in the backwaters of Greek political and military life; its main influence was as a Panhellenic shrine.

Höhle stresses that the Festival influence flourished best in the Panhellenic, aristo-

cratic societies and faded, or became crassly professional, in democratic states. The Spartans, always pious participants, were regular victors only until the Lycurgan reforms made the democratic agoge and ephors dominant over the aristocratic faction surrounding the kings. Elsewhere, aristocratic tyrants favored the Games. Greek and Sicilian princes seized power or glorified their reigns through the prestige of equestrian victories. The South Italian Greek nobles, however, influenced by Pythagorean ideals, trained a sound body to support a sound mind and won athletic rather than equestrian victories. In Athens, Cylon used his Olympic victory in aspiring to tyranny. Solon granted awards for victories in order to win the support of the nobles. Miltiades and Cimon continued the aristocratic commitment to the Games. Only Alcibiades capitalized on his victories to play the demagogue. Because nobles were more united to their class than to their states, Festival participation reflected the sound Panhellenic sentiments of the aristocrats. But, as the divisive local democracies won in the states and professionalism won in the Games, Olympia's role as a Panhellenic center became ineffectual.

Hönle's aristocratic and Panhellenic leanings may be challenged, but she argues her case well. This doctoral dissertation is in the tradition of thorough German scholarship. The typescript, with handwritten Greek, is published in photo-offset. Its contents deserve a better edition.

*Michigan State University*

ELEANOR G. HUZAR

THE ROMAN SOLDIER. By *G. R. Watson*. [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. 256. \$7.50.)

SCHOLAE PALATINAE: THE PALACE GUARDS OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE. By *R. I. Frank*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XXIII.] ([Rome:] the Academy. 1969. Pp. 259. \$6.50.)

Books on ancient matters for the "general reader" continue to proliferate. That elusive creature is much pampered and cultivated. Few works with him in mind, however, have found their mark so successfully as Watson's *The Roman Soldier*. The author's concern is not with battles, tactics, or strategy, nor with the officer class and military organization. His subject is the enlisted man, the ordinary *miles* in the ranks, who has rarely occupied the attention of scholars or military historians. The topics covered are fresh and concrete: the conditions of recruitment, training and exercise, monetary allowances, decorations and punishment, promotions, expectations after discharge. Watson's prose is lucid and direct, enlivened by well-chosen quotations from the varied sources—historians, legal texts, papyri, epigraphic documents. We gain intimate access to the ranker's experience through items like the letter of recommendation, the military oath, description of the weapons drill, and the guileless epistles of a soldier to his parents expressing relief at his escape from fatigue duty.

The general reader is well-served. At the same time, this is a book at which no scholar will grimace or sneer. Watson avoids oversimplification. Where unsolved problems or scholarly disputes exist, he affords them intelligent summaries and offers his own conclusions, for example, on the customary loads borne by soldiers on the march, the rate of pay for various forces, and the legal position of marriage and cohabitation in the service. Judgments are balanced and sane. The notorious "auctioning of the empire" in 193 is placed in proper perspective by reference to the history of imperial donatives. Similarly, disciplinary punishments—the harshness of a *Corbulo*—was exceptional rather than habitual. The notes are remarkably full for a work

of this sort. There are ample references to the sources, relevant Latin texts are printed, scholarly discussions are reviewed, and the appendixes include a list, with brief description, of 271 military documents. Watson's achievement is enviable. It is a work which the scholar will find solid, the teacher usable, and the layman instructive and appealing.

Professor Frank's book belongs in a separate category. It is the product of a doctoral dissertation and, hence, more concentrated in subject matter: the guards of Roman rulers in the late imperial period. This is not, strictly speaking, military history, but administrative history, replete with technical terminology and nomenclature, which is not always satisfactorily sorted out. There is little of the flavor of immediacy that can be found in Watson's work. Frank writes within a well-established tradition that one associates with names like Bury, Stein, Otto Seeck, and A. H. M. Jones.

Nonetheless, this is a marked cut above the average dissertation. Frank is not mired in the details of *Rangordnung*. His examination of the *scholae palatinae* shows a fine sensitivity to historical development, avoiding the pitfalls of assigning to earlier periods the structure of a later situation. The *scholae* are employed to illuminate larger questions such as the growing militarization and centralization of the imperial bureaucracy. In the process, Frank demonstrates that their functions went well beyond those of mere palace guards: they served on the staffs of marshals abroad, took over subordinate commands, exercised police duties, and performed administrative tasks such as supervision of the imperial post, arsenals, and conscription. (More controversial, and less persuasive, is his notion that they acted as spies and informers for the central government.) Frank also shows with clarity and conviction the role of these forces in the establishment of a military elite from the mid-fourth century A.D. In his hands an apparently marginal subject takes on important dimensions. This is an informed and informative contribution to late Roman studies.

*University of California, Berkeley*

ERICH S. GRUEN

DIE STAATSVERTRÄGE DES ALTERTUMS. Volume II, DIE VERTRÄGE DER GRIECHISCH-RÖMISCHEN WELT VON 700 BIS 338 V. CHR., edited by *Hermann Bengtson*, with the collaboration of *Robert Werner*; Volume III, DIE VERTRÄGE DER GRIECHISCH-RÖMISCHEN WELT VON 338 BIS 200 V. CHR., edited by *Hatto H. Schmitt*. [Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1962; 1969. Pp. xviii, 361; xix, 463. Cloth DM 54, paper DM 48; Cloth DM 75.)

THE first volume in this series, which is yet to be published, will cover early Near Eastern treaties. The present two volumes are intended to cover all Greek and Roman treaties from 700 to 200 B.C. for which we have any evidence regarding their terms. The concept of treaty is interpreted broadly, sometimes too much so. In Volume III, Number 450 scarcely qualifies and Number 483 contains negotiations which did not result in a settlement. For each item the relevant literary or epigraphic material appears in Greek or Latin (in Volume II dialectal inscriptions are translated into German). Variant readings, earlier publications, and full bibliography are scrupulously presented. A terse but clear discussion indicates alternative explanations, but the editor takes his own stand on debated points, for example, Volume III, Number 547 with which Schmitt had already dealt elsewhere. Indexes of names and subjects, sources, and major diplomatic terms conclude each volume.



Bengtson's volume has been available for some years, though it was sent to this journal for review with Volume III. The favorable judgments it has received need not be repeated here (see, for example, the balanced appraisal by W. G. Forrest, *Classical Review*, LXXIX [1965], pp. 329-31). The editor of Volume III, who is well known for his careful studies on Hellenistic topics, applies the same pattern to the very difficult area of the Hellenistic world, complicated in its international relations and more sophisticated in its political structures. The much earlier publication of ancient treaties by Von Scala did not extend this far, and in any case our evidence has been greatly enlarged in recent decades by epigraphic discoveries. Some of these are very difficult to interpret, but Schmitt has generally exercised caution. His objective approach shows also in the discussions of the treaties between Rome and Carthage, though one may disagree with some of his conclusions.

The modern reader of diplomatic history may be saddened by our fragmentary knowledge even of some very important ancient treaties; but what is available has been carefully assembled and beautifully printed. The pages are not quite impeccable, especially in respect to the initials of authors, but they are as nearly so in the actual texts as one is likely to achieve. Few students will read these volumes straight through, but many will consult them on one point or another for a long time to come.

*University of Illinois*

CHESTER G. STARR

GREEK COINS AND HISTORY: SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS. By *Colin M. Kraay*. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1969. Pp. x, 81. \$6.50.)

THE historian of the ancient Greek world has usually used the evidence of coins to some extent in general works or writings on special topics. To do this to best advantage he must keep up with research in pure numismatics, which has offered many monographs and articles in recent years. Dr. Kraay's illustrations of new, often controversial interpretations of heretofore accepted facts may well make the historian wary of using numismatic evidence without personally consulting a team of numismatists. The supposed coin of Dion of Syracuse, struck at Zakynthos in 357 B.C., turns out to have been the work of some anonymous moneyer of that rather common name. The contents of hoards confirm that the related Syracusan electrum issues with similar types of Apollo and tripod were probably struck under Agathocles about 300 B.C. The identification of cistophori in the name of a King Eumenes with Aristonicus, who led a four year revolt against the Roman inheritors of Pergamon, allows adjustments in cistophoric chronology, these coins of Roman standard replacing the regal issues of Attic standard after 190-188 B.C. when the Seleucids were excluded from northwest Asia Minor. Two other problems, that of the perhaps unique recut die of Philip VI Andriskos and the date of the latest Athenian New Style coins, have not been resolved sufficiently for unquestioned scholarly acceptance.

The bombshell of Dr. Kraay's well-argued lectures is that the famous silver dekadrachm known as the Demareteion, supposedly struck 480-479 B.C., cannot be this well-attested (small gold?) coin but must be an issue of about 461 B.C. The arguments of die use and cross influences are formidable, but they can be explained partly by recalling the chaotic delays in issuing, even in striking dated modern coinages.

*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*  
*Yale University*

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

PLATON IN SIZILIEN UND DAS PROBLEM DER PHILOSOPHENHERRSCHAFT. By *Kurt von Fritz*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1968. Pp. xiv, 147. DM 14.)

THIS book is a clear and penetrating study of Plato's political ideals and the problems that developed in his main attempt to put them into practice. This experiment in practical politics took place in Syracuse in the reign of the tyrant Dionysius and his uncle Dion. Plato also advised Dion's followers after his death regarding the course of action they should pursue. The main source of information on these matters is Plato's *Seventh Letter*. While it is invaluable as an account of Plato's political convictions—his defense of the ideas and policy that Dion had tried to put into practice, his biography and view of Athenian politics—the troublesome question has long been raised: Is the *Seventh Letter* genuine? As a preliminary to his main subject, Professor von Fritz reconsiders the question but with refreshing sensitivity as to how and why questions of the letter's authenticity have been raised. In this discussion von Fritz also engages in an illuminating analysis of the text and ideas of the *Seventh Letter*, as well as the historical-political context and events in Syracuse that are reflected, and even in certain ways distorted, in its contents.

The general theme, made clear in the introduction and forming the substance of the conclusion, is the full significance of Plato's theory and the difficult practical consequences of the ideal of the philosophical ruler. And this ideal, later thinkers were to see and we can now appreciate, leads to the further question of the role of the intellectual in participating in political power and the administration of the state. Von Fritz points out that Kant later raised and considered just these issues that originated with Plato's ideal of the philosopher king.

In three lucid chapters, this book probes and clarifies questions of great interest to political scientists, historians, and philosophers. Erudite and provocative, this is an important contribution to intellectual history.

*City College of the City University of New York*

H. S. THAYER

THE ATHENIAN ARISTOCRACY, 399 TO 31 B.C. By *Paul MacKendrick*. [Martin Classical Lectures, Volume XXIII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College. 1969. Pp. ix, 111. \$6.00.)

THIS is a light book on a serious subject, Attic prosopography. The scholar will examine the notes and the "Indices of Gennetai"; this review was not written for him.

"Aristocracy" is used here as it could be applied to the Mayflower Society, the D.A.R., or the Order of Cincinnatus, with the difference that members of the old Attic families (the Gene) were hereditary church wardens, which is only natural in a society in which religion and politics were not separate.

MacKendrick shows that members of these old families were politically, socially, and economically prominent throughout Athenian history; he stops his account where he does because of Paul Graindor's competent treatment of Athens in the Roman period. Since the book lacks a bibliography, the reader may be reminded that others have worked in this field: J. Sundwall, W. S. Ferguson, J. Day, and J. H. Oliver.

The author is a well-known classicist who has written two popular and very useful books on Greek and Roman archaeology. The present volume contains the results of epigraphical studies which he first undertook at Harvard under the direction of Dow

and recently completed at Princeton under Meritt. It is appropriate that the book should be dedicated to these two masters.

*Stanford University*

A. E. RAUBITSCHKE

CICERO: EIN BIOGRAPHISCHER VERSUCH. By *Matthias Gelzer*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1969. Pp. x, 426.)

MORE than a generation ago the author of this book, already recognized as one of the foremost scholars dealing with the Roman Republic, wrote an excellent article on Cicero in Pauly, Wissowa, and Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*. This gave promise of a full-length treatment of Cicero's life and works; the treatise has now been published, justifying all expectations.

Herr Gelzer's book is written directly from the works of Cicero and other ancient sources for this period. The author cites modern works sparingly, as a rule only when serious controversies are involved; but it is from the ancient sources that he has achieved a fresh view of Cicero's life and achievements.

After a short introduction the work follows Cicero's activities in a chronological manner. There are two maps of the classical world in Cicero's time, one of the Aegean and Asia Minor, and the other of Greece and Italy. There are indexes of personal names and geographical locations, but the absence of a general index, which might have indicated where Cicero's various works are discussed and provided easier access to other information, is one of the few faults of the book.

In addition to the author's excellent treatment of the ancient source material, the work is notable for its handling of the extremely complex prosopographic material available for this period. His intimate knowledge of the various Roman families, their constituencies, and their relationships is clearly demonstrated on almost every page. In no other work about Cicero has this aspect of his career and his age been so brilliantly delineated.

The author clearly reverses the nineteenth-century verdict of Mommsen and his school and concludes that, as antiquity decided, Cicero was a very great man in many ways. In one cogent phrase he writes that, as a politician, Cicero depended more on bargaining for his political successes than on understanding.

In another fine passage he points out the mistake that Drumann and Mommsen made in trying to equate Roman politics of the last century B.C. too closely with the politics of their own time. He says we can not speak of the *populus romanus* as we can of the people of the United States or the people of France after their democratic revolutions introduced a concept of democracy unknown to the Roman Republic.

Especially telling is Gelzer's description of the thanks given to Cicero by the Roman populace after the condemnation of the Catilinarian conspirators. He agrees with the ancient tradition that after the suppression of the conspiracy, which threatened the very life of the Republic, Cicero joined the ranks of the Roman heroes: the Paulii, the Fabii, and the Scipiones. Among living Romans he was in 63-62 B.C. almost Pompey's equal.

Thus, probably the most important point of this biography is that the author, on the basis of exhaustive study of all available sources, has come to the conclusion that antiquity's high evaluation of Cicero's achievement, perhaps best summarized by Plutarch, is still very close to the proper view.

*University of Kansas*

JAMES E. SEAVER

## Medieval

FROM SHADOW TO PROMISE: OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION  
FROM AUGUSTINE TO THE YOUNG LUTHER. By *James Samuel Preus*.  
(Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 301.  
\$7.50.)

THOUGH Christians may have included the Old Testament in their Bible out of reverence for their founder, who clearly considered Moses and the prophets to be his "bible," scholars of the Church have tried to find other reasons for its inclusion. Dr. Preus's book is concerned with the young Luther (1513-1515) and his thought on this problem is reflected in his lectures. Preus shows that Luther's context was medieval; accordingly, the volume begins with a discussion of medieval hermeneutics, taking up in turn St. Augustine; Hugh of St. Victor; Peter Lombard, St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas; "The Prologue Literature: Nicholas of Lyra"; two nominalist theologians, Henry Totting of Oyta and Gerson; Paul of Burgos; and James Perez of Valencia. This section closes with chapters on late scholastic developments and "three medieval contemporaries"—Sylvester Prierias, Faber Stapulensis, and Martin Luther. For reasons of space, I have resisted the temptation to discuss so fabulous a commentator as Lyra; I cannot help mentioning the couplet: *Si Lyra ni lyrasset, Lutherus ni saltasset*.

The treatment of Luther's first Psalms course (1513-1515) has chapters on "A Medieval Luther"; "Luther's Development: A Projection"; "The Senses and Structure of Scripture"; "The New Hermeneutical Divide"; "The Discovery of the Faithful Synagogue"; and "Tropology, Promise, and Faith." A conclusion is followed by an appendix (Occurrences of *Pactum* and *Promissio* in the *Dictata*), a bibliography, and an index.

This volume is a masterpiece. The author's sense of what is important in interpretation of sources and discussion of modern Luther scholarship is unerring. Preus reveals that he owes much to Professor Heiko A. Oberman. While I was reading the first part, Oberman's *Forerunners of the Reformation* came to mind; other discussions (especially of Faber, and of Erasmus on Valla), had similar reminiscences. Preus, however, is no parrot; the book is his own.

As to Luther's Christology, it was supplemented by the so-called "Extra Calvinisticum" (see E. D. Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology*). The status of the temporalia (Old Testament) as compared with the spiritualia (New Testament) is too low.

University of Oregon

QUIRINUS BREEN

MITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN: AUSGEWÄHLTE AUFSÄTZE ZUR  
SCHRIFTKUNDE UND LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Volume II. By *Bernhard Bischoff*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1967. Pp. 383, xi plates. DM 112.)

THIS second and concluding volume of Bischoff's *Mittelalterliche Studien* presents more of his articles previously published in various journals. The subjects of the articles form a chronological continuation of the work presented in 1966 in the first volume: they cover the other half of the Middle Ages, from the Carolingian period to the end—and sometimes beyond. The articles have all been revised and some of them augmented, the bibliography has been brought up to date, and several new plates have been added. Most of the articles are paleographical studies or *literarhistorische*

*Studien* based on manuscript sources; they reveal eloquently both the scope and the depth of the author's judgment, as well as his profound erudition in the study of the medieval book, text, and hand. To praise the work of a scholar as eminent as Bernhard Bischoff would be superfluous, and to criticize minutiae petty. The interests of most readers of this review are, therefore, better served by a short abstract of each article in the volume.

"Die mittellateinische Literatur" (pp. 1-11): a critical interpretation of the growth and decline of Latin literature. "Aus Alkuins Erdentagen" (pp. 12-19): an examination and redating at 797 (instead of 793) of Alcuin's letter to Felix of Urgel condemning Adoptionism (Ep. 23). "Theodulf und der Ire Cadac-Andreas" (pp. 19-25): identification of an Irish scholar at Charlemagne's court attacked by Theodulph as Cadac, also called Andreas. "Gottschalks Lied für den Reichenauer Freund" (pp. 26-34): restitution of three hitherto unknown stanzas of Gottschalk's song *Ut quid jubes, pusiole* on the basis of the Angers ms. 477. "Eine Sammelhandschrift Walahfrid Strabos" (pp. 34-51): a paleographical examination of the gradual development of the principal hand of Ms. Sangallensis 878 (a miscellaneous collection s. IX in.), leading to the conclusion that it is Walafrid Strabo's. "Muridac doctissimus plebis, ein irischer Grammatiker des IX. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 51-56): identification of a ninth-century Donatus commentary (previously attributed by Manitius to Smaragdus) as the work of an Irish scholar, Muridac, possibly of the region of Auxerre. "Caritas-Lieder" (pp. 56-77): an examination of ninth- and tenth-century semi-liturgical songs, hymns, and toasts praising Christian charity and of their probable origin in the festive monastic rite of *caritas in refectorio*. "Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters" (pp. 77-115): a study of selected aspects of the topic, ingeniously gleaned from manuscripts, with special attention to the work of Otloh of St. Emmeram. "Studien zur Geschichte des Klosters St. Emmeram im Spätmittelalter (1324-1525)" (pp. 115-55): a brief history of the abbey with special attention to the library, largely on the basis of unpublished manuscripts in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*. "Regensburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Dramatik und Ikonographie" (pp. 156-68): an analysis of several unpublished plays and prescriptions for the representation of apostles. "Caesar, tantus eras" (pp. 169-74): proof that the poem refers to the death of Henry III. "Die Überlieferung des Theophilus-Rugerus nach den ältesten Handschriften" (pp. 175-82): dated as possibly written in the eleventh century. "Aus der Schule Hugos von St. Viktor" (pp. 182-87): identification of a *reportatio* of his lectures which were the basis of the *De sacramentis christianae fidei*. "Frat(er) Erhardus O. Pr., ein Hebraist des XV. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 187-91): probable identification of Erhardus Streitperger as student of Petrus Nigri. "Ostertagtexte und Intervalltafeln" (pp. 192-227): a discussion of mnemonic prose and verse texts to record the date of Easter and the interval for each of a series of years, and the edition of thirteen such texts. "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages" (pp. 227-45) and "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters" (pp. 246-75): two surveys; the scope of the second is limited to the transalpine regions and to the period prior to 1200. "Ursprung und Geschichte eines Kreuzsegens" (pp. 275-84): an examination of the prophylactic formula "Crux michi certa salus . . ." its variants and derivatives. "Kreuz und Buch im Frühmittelalter und in den ersten Jahrhunderten der spanischen Reconquista" (pp. 284-303): a study of the motif of the cross and of cruciform mottoes in the decoration of books. "Das biblische Thema der Reichenauer 'visionären Evangelisten'" (pp. 304-11): the mini-

atures of the evangelists in Clm 4453 compared to those in Vat. Barb. Lat. 711. "Scriptoria e manoscritti mediatori di civiltà dal sesto secolo alla riforma di Carlo Magno" (pp. 312-27): a survey of the main lines of movement in the transmission of books and texts through Latin Christendom. "Anzeige von E. A. Lowe, English Uncial (Oxford, 1960)" (pp. 328-39): a review of the book, and in its own right a short treatise on the history of the English uncial.

York University

J. BRÜCKMANN

THE CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE AND THE IDEA OF KINGSHIP. By Walter Ullmann. [The Birkbeck Lectures 1968-9.] ([London:] Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1969. Pp. xiv, 201. \$7.25.)

PROFESSOR Ullmann has used the prestige of his Birkbeck Lectureship to illuminate what he considers to be a neglected problem: namely, the concept of rulership framed in the Carolingian Renaissance. His leitmotiv is that ideas can conquer mature, entrenched "habits, traditions, and customs."

The author's main point is new: "It is not, I think, an exaggeration to claim that as far as the history of European civilization is concerned, it was the evolution of theocratic Rulership in the ninth century which first brought about the thesis that the Ruler was subjected to a law" (p. 134; cf. p. 176 ff). The instrument by which this was achieved was the coronation liturgy, especially the unction of the king, which effected his "rebirth" as a "new Moses," "new David," "new Constantine," or the like. The ritual, Ullmann argues, was constitutive and excluded lay magnates from the accession procedure, which it transformed into a clerical monopoly. Furthermore, he says, unction stunted the king's "sovereignty" by establishing in ecclesiological terms that the ruler had a "*theokratische Amtsauftrag*" from God and thus had definable responsibilities to the Author of his power and to divine law. Finally, by incorporating him, as ruler, into the structure of the Church, it subjected the king to "constitutional supervision of the Ruler" by the clergy, who were the only authentic interpreters of divine law. The result of the ruler's "rebirth" in the coronation ritual was thus formal subjection of the king to clerical review; it was also "the birth of the free ecclesiastic, free from royal control, free from juristic subjection to royal power" (p. 122).

All these points require more substantiation than Ullmann has been able to supply. Did the Carolingians actually bequeath to European civilization the idea that the ruler was subject to law? What, then, are we to make of the Old Testament prophets rebuking kings for deliction of law and covenant, and of the Hellenistic opinion, transmitted through the Fathers, that the ruler's greatest obligation was to exemplify obedience to the laws? As for Ullmann's views on the constitutional implications of the coronation ritual, one has to distinguish between accession and the formalities of installation. The actual conduct of royal accessions in the ninth century shows nothing clearer than the rise of the lay aristocracy, and it is fact that men were acknowledged as kings and acted as kings without having been anointed. What about the idea that the clergy wished to make the king accountable to themselves? The author calls Hincmar of Reims "the ecclesiastical master mind" of the coronation as expressing ecclesiological checks on the ruler. But Hincmar himself argued, in defense of Charles the Bald (whom he had crowned), that kingdoms were gained and lost by inheritance or force of arms, not by ecclesiastical sanctions, and, with a suitable reference to Saul, that no fault of a king justified bishops in resisting the king they had anointed and to



whom they had made solemn promises of fealty. The author leaves unmentioned such texts as these.

Ullmann states that other major contentions are new to scholarship. In fact, they have distinguished precedents. Two may be cited. The author is under the impression that the Carolingian Renaissance should be treated as a spiritual reform of Frankish society as a whole, rather than as chiefly a literary or cultural movement; and he is perplexed that modern scholars have ignored this aspect (Ullmann, pp. 1 ff and *passim*). Compare "die geistige Hebung des ganzen Volkes," in H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter. Ein Handbuch* (1921). On the independence of the clergy (Ullmann, pp. 121 ff), see Schubert, *passim*, and the second volume of H. H. Milman's *A History of Latin Christianity* (1860), pp. 488-89.

University of Chicago

KARL F. MORRISON

LA TERRE ET LES HOMMES EN PICARDIE JUSQU'À LA FIN DU XIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Robert Fossier*. In two volumes. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Numbers 48 and 49.] (Louvain: Nauwelaerts. 1968. Pp. 435, iv; 440-824. 1,250 fr. B. the set.)

THIS is a remarkable book, both in its conclusions and in its techniques. Based solidly on the written sources (at one point the author writes of analyzing thirty thousand documents), it also makes effective use of a splendid series of aerial photographs and of the work of local archaeologists. Nothing of any importance has been overlooked; it is most unlikely that the pattern of evidence could be changed by discoveries of new material.

On the other hand, the conclusions drawn from the evidence rely heavily on statistical techniques and the validity of these techniques can, at times, be challenged. One difficulty occurs when the number of observations is adequate for statistical analysis but the relationship between the number and the conclusion is not firmly established. Thus, relying on toponymy (a somewhat uncertain science), M. Fossier finds a remarkably large number of Celtic or Gallo-Roman place names; from this he concludes that Picardy was heavily populated even in the early centuries of its history. Another problem appears when the documentation is too thin to be statistically significant: for example, the number of ovens (five) or of mills (thirty-five) mentioned before 1100 is too small to make a breakdown by quarter-centuries meaningful and also probably so much lower than the actual number that the figures are misleading.

These remarks are merely intended to point out the limitations of what is, in most cases, a powerful tool for extracting new information from unpromising sources. The book is so well constructed that M. Fossier's arguments carry conviction even when there are weaknesses in his statistics. He has given us an extraordinarily rich description of the social and economic development of Picardy and has shown once more how dangerous it is to apply generalizations valid for one part of France to other regions.

For example, Picardy knew nothing of the highly developed feudalism of its neighbor, Normandy. Military service, except for castle-guard, was almost unknown; a fully articulated feudal hierarchy appeared only in the thirteenth century; allods were common until well after 1200. Picardy was also slow in adopting some of the innovations that increased agricultural production, such as heavy plows and the three-field system. In general, the province seems to have developed what we think of as typical medieval institutions very gradually. Reliance on incomplete statistics may account for

some of these apparent delays, but it is more likely that failure to use statistics has led some scholars to give far too early dates for certain innovations. One heavy plow does not make an agricultural revolution, and one new seigneurie does not prove the utter collapse of comital power. M. Fossier, quite rightly, believes that many and increasingly frequent examples are needed to prove fundamental changes.

The peculiar political history of Picardy may also explain its irregular rhythm of development. The province had an unusually dense population in a period of primitive agricultural techniques; there was, for a time, little surplus for political and economic experiments. Picardy was one of the last strongholds of the Carolingians; it never developed a powerful feudal principality. Both these facts led to conservatism. Only when Picardy was gradually absorbed into the royal domain could it realize its full potential.

There is no space to discuss other interesting ideas presented by the author: the stimulating effects of Viking invasions in forcing precious metals into circulation, the importance of new sources of iron in improving agricultural techniques, the reasons for a change from a subsistence to a profit-seeking mentality, the enlargement and reconstruction of the noble class. No one interested in medieval social history can fail to profit from reading this book.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LES MAÎTRES DU MARBRE: CARRARE, 1300-1600. By *Christiane Klapisch-Zuber*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports—routes—trafics, Number 25.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1969. Pp. 364. 43 fr.)

How useful it would be if historians could offer a single metaphor to describe the fierce energies with which Renaissance urban patricians attempted to elevate the daily round of secular life and death until it assumed the elegance of a religious ritual. Surely, one of the principal failings of Burckhardtian interpretation stems from a misunderstanding of the religious impulse at the base of patrician patronage of the arts. Furthermore, modern definitions of Italian bourgeoisie as rational and calculating are of little assistance in explaining the frenzied scale of palace building, chapel construction, and erection of funereal monuments.

This book is a detailed study of a costly craze that saw Carrara marble come into vogue throughout the cities of north and central Italy, and later over Europe. So great was the demand that the price of this mineral increased during the centuries until it approached that of bronze. Possessing a *valeur symbolique*, it was utilized increasingly by a laity for decorating palaces and churches until the architectural constellation of *quattrocento* Italian cities was transformed. Working from evidence as varied as notarial cartularies and medieval treatises on esthetics, the author proceeds from an assessment of the general to an evaluation of such particulars as quarrying and vending.

First, she discusses marble as a magic substance possessing symbolic attributes; its splendor was assured by Christian poets addicted to sensual descriptions of luminescent paradises. In Italy its usage served to validate and dignify the political claims of empire, church, and commune, since each would seek to identify with a Rome encrusted with marble. Nostalgia for antiquity played its habitual role. (Certainly, the theme of nostalgia has been neglected and is worthy of historical consideration or psychoanalytical notice rather than the commonsensical treatment it generally receives.) The author

moves us into the rich world of the notarial cartulary where we confront the intensive methods of *sixième section* scholarship. Contracts, wages, transport, and other such items furnish the detailed base for this exacting study of a costly and esthetic enterprise.

If Italian art history is to achieve that social dimension the English have given to their study, then this valuable book points in the proper direction. Our reactions to Renaissance artifacts have little in common with those of the *quattrocento*. Painting was not highly prized and nothing rivaled the outlay of 86,000 florins for a marble tabernacle at Or San Michele. But again we are confronted with problems that can be solved only through an exquisite concern for detail; our projections and logical constructs are only misleading. Much has been written about the Renaissance love for antiquity, yet the spoliation of antique monuments in fifteenth-century Rome outshamed the medievals. Archaeological solicitude extended to coins and jewels, not marble statues and columns. When Sixtus IV proclaimed his *Cum provida sanctorum patrum*, it dealt solely with ancient Christian monuments, leaving pagan creations unprotected. Reverence for marble and antiquity is not explicable in terms of modern bourgeois pieties; instead, we are faced with the mysticism of a Renaissance patriciate questing for immortality in ways dimly perceived. This book places us effectively on that twisting path.

*University of Rochester*

MARVIN B. BECKER

CALENDAR OF MEMORANDA ROLLS (EXCHEQUER) PRESERVED IN  
THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE: MICHAELMAS 1326–MICHAELMAS  
1327. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services,  
New York. 1968. Pp. xlii, 523. \$43.20 postpaid.)

JAMES Willard, in an appraisal of the Memoranda Rolls, called them "the most important" of the English financial records of the late middle ages. ("The Memoranda Rolls and the Remembrancers," *Essays Presented to T. F. Tout* [1925], p. 125.) These sets of rolls, one kept by the King's Remembrancer and the other by the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, give the most complete account of the operations of the Exchequer during this period. The purpose of this calendar is to inform historians of the scope of these records by presenting in full the contents of both rolls for a sample year. There are three reasons why the fiscal year 1326–1327 was chosen to be the sample. Earlier rolls until the year 1230 are or will be in print, and microfilms of the King's Remembrancer's Rolls from 1217 to 1307 are available. As for the years after 1307, only with the Exchequer Ordinances of 1323 were the respective duties of each Remembrancer determined and, consequently, the pattern of the rolls for the future became fixed. Finally, because the violent displacement of one king by another occurred in 1327, there was provided an opportunity to measure the impact, in this instance slight, of a political crisis on normal Exchequer business. The calendar has a useful introduction. It points out the difference between the two sets of rolls and discusses the sections into which each roll is divided. There is an appendix to the introduction containing samples of original documents from each section. The text is well annotated. Where a document in either of the rolls duplicates one already calendared elsewhere, the contents of the document are not reprinted and reference is made to the appropriate calendar. When actions taken by the Exchequer concern matters initiated earlier or by another department, reference to the calendared entry or document of origin is given in the notes. There is an extensive and most useful analytical index.

*Kenyon College*

ROBERT L. BAKER

RHETORIC AND PHILOSOPHY IN RENAISSANCE HUMANISM: THE UNION OF ELOQUENCE AND WISDOM, PETRARCH TO VALLA. By *Jerrold E. Seigel*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 268. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR Seigel's book is divided into two parts, divergent in approach and emphasis, but related by the author's intention to indicate in the latter section the larger problems and debates to which his more specialized topic has relevance. In Part I Seigel studies the issue of the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy as conceived and transmitted by Cicero. He takes up the difficulties that this relationship posed, the crucial significance it possessed, and the particular solutions it suggested in the thought of Petrarch, Salutati, Bruni, and Valla. The central argument may be summarized as follows: the earlier humanism of the Italian Renaissance, initiated by Petrarch and extending through Valla, marked a distinct and vital phase in the Renaissance tradition. Its major contribution lay in the full rediscovery and revitalization of the Ciceronian ideals of the orator and of the role of eloquence. This was accompanied by the perception of and renewed preoccupation with the ideas and conflicts that Cicero himself had expressed in dealing with the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy. The four humanists shared his goal of an ideal union between eloquence and wisdom as the foundation for a humane culture. The contradictions involved in such a union made them participants in a common intellectual struggle; to this each offered his own, not necessarily consistent, solution.

Part II is speculative in scope, deliberately tentative in its broader conclusions, and synthetic in result. Seigel addresses himself to a continuing debate on a series of questions having to do with the connections and contrasts between the worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and with the explanation for the growth of humanism and its definition. In his view, the rhetorical culture of earlier humanism had strong affinities with and roots in a specifically Italian medieval tradition, represented by the existence and importance in Italy of a class of professional rhetoricians who belonged to the unique urban world that set Italy off from the medieval North, and who formed part of an intellectual environment that was similarly distinct. According to Seigel, the early humanists must be seen as professional rhetoricians who followed, in status and outlook, in the footsteps of previous generations of professionals but who also went beyond and differed from their predecessors in the extent and character of their classicism. The character of this difference is explained in terms of Panofsky's principle of "disjunction," now applied to the contention that the humanists reintegrated classical form with classical content in their revival of the Ciceronian ideal of eloquence, that they truly reassimilated this ideal and understood it for what it was in ancient terms where earlier it had been distorted or attenuated by being removed from its own context or fitted to an inappropriate one. It is in this accomplishment that Seigel sees the principal contribution of his four humanists: their reintegration of what had been in the medieval tradition disconnected and partial is taken to represent the stirrings of a new historical consciousness and an opening for new achievement in other fields. At the same time, the author maintains that the earlier humanists' concentration on a rhetorical culture was to give way in the second half of the fifteenth century to a more philosophical emphasis, one which brought with it a larger conquest of other aspects of the ancient world. He stresses also the view that humanism co-existed with, and did not displace, other schools of thought, including scholasticism. In short, Seigel accepts, and develops in his own way, much of the interpretation on the problem of periodization

identified with Saporì, on the matter of the nature of early humanism and its relation to other intellectual traditions as expounded by Kristeller, on the characteristic contrast between "medieval" and "Renaissance" as formulated by Panofsky. He believes that the humanists are best understood through their concern with Ciceronian eloquence, not with politics or a particular philosophical position.

Seigel writes with a simplicity and clarity of style that make his book a pleasure to read. Yet on certain counts one is left with the impression that these qualities have been purchased at too high a price and that the issues defined in the two parts of his work have been, in the first part too narrow, in the second too broad. The evidence of Part I is simply inadequate to the generalizations of Part II. While the author is aware of that, a more rigorously developed analysis in the first instance would have provided a more solid base for speculation in the second. For despite the interest of many passages and the insights along the way—for example, the discussion of Valla's peculiar form of "Epicureanism" or the demonstration of the varying significance attached in the rhetorical tradition to the major schools of ancient philosophy from Cicero on through the humanists—the chapters devoted to the four humanists remain essays on a theme that increasingly takes on an artificial life of its own. In seeking evidence for their thought on the relationship between philosophy and rhetoric, the author tends to abstract those passages which speak to the topic and so to fall into the danger of abstracting from context as well as of endowing the contrast and its variations with an internal historical life which develops according to its own necessary logic. There are problems of approach, terminology, and method, too, which are neither explicitly raised nor resolved.

The way in which Renaissance authors used and interpreted ancient authors poses some very intricate questions. On one level, it is important to understand what the classical writer thought and meant; on another, it is necessary to search out the ideas and meanings attached to that writer by the humanist, who may not have had the full corpus at his command, who may have arrived at his interpretation through the medium of other writers and traditions, who may quote a classical text while assigning some meaning of his own to the words. In studying the role of Cicero, Seigel tends to arrive at a comprehensive evaluation of Cicero's thought on the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy and then to assign the rediscovery of his interpretation to the humanists, without asking some of the intermediate questions. He says surprisingly little about the influence of other ancient authors. In the use of terms, he does not make clear whether "wisdom" is in all cases equivalent to "philosophy" or "eloquence" to "rhetoric." By assuming, or appearing to assume, that these are interchangeable, grave imprecisions arise not only in the interpretation of Cicero but, still more, in the view of the "Ciceronian" character of the thought of a Petrarch or Salutati. For example, the specifically Christian component in their understanding of "wisdom" and its potential conflict cannot be so lightly dismissed. Further, "philosophy" seems to mean sometimes a given school of thought, sometimes "systematic philosophy," sometimes moral philosophy alone, while "rhetoric" means variously the ideal of eloquence and the values attached to it or the art of rhetoric in its narrower consequences. Occasionally the contrast is made simply between the active and contemplative lives. The distinctions involved in these terms and their usage in context become lost, and thus the exposition of ideas becomes blurred.

Another difficult question posed by the book is that of the interpretation of rhetoricians. It is sometimes argued that a given humanist's work should not be taken at face value or assumed to represent the consistent and considered ideas of its author



because it has in fact been written as a rhetorical exercise or by a man professionally committed to no one view of truth but rather to the capacity to persuade on different sides of a proposition. But once one agrees that the rhetorical dimension of humanist writing and the aims that flow from it must be taken seriously, what criteria for doing so can be articulated? On what grounds can some works be dismissed, and others accepted in their statements of position? Finally, if certain ideas come to be expressed and to differ from earlier prevailing ideas, then may there not be, rhetorical composition or no, some special historical significance in the fact that it is regarded as important to proclaim such positions? In short, the thesis that professional rhetoricians possess a certain mentality and write in a certain framework is one thing; the explanation for their assertions of differing views at different times within a common status may well lie elsewhere.

*University of Chicago*

HANNA H. GRAY

EVOLUCIÓN DE LA NOBLEZA EN CASTILLA BAJO ENRIQUE III (1396-1406). By *Emilio Mitre Fernández*. [Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Tesis doctorales.] (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones. 1968. Pp. 222.)

IN recent years Professor Luis Suárez Fernández and his colleagues at the University of Valladolid have undertaken the study of various aspects of Castilian history in the later Middle Ages. The volume under review is a product of that interest and activity. The revolution that brought Enrique de Trastámara to power in 1369 profoundly affected the Castilian social structure, and it is the author's intention to trace the emergence of a new nobility which supplanted the great noble houses of earlier times. The new nobility advanced by several stages to a position of predominance in the political and social life of the realm. They usually acquired official positions in the royal service either at court or in the territorial administration. Next they obtained the concession of extensive lordships, with accompanying rents, exemptions, and rights of jurisdiction. The process of *señorialización* went on without interruption in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Once in possession of a lordship the noble sought to consolidate and round off his holdings by purchases, exchanges, and similar means. The final stage in the process was to create a *mayorazgo*, an estate entailed in the family of the eldest son, or in default of sons, in that of the eldest daughter. The new nobility came from the peripheral regions of the kingdom, but the principal zone of their expansion was the central *meseta*. The families who rose to prominence during this epoch included the Mendoza, Stúñiga, and Dávalos, originally from the Basque country, the Fajardo and Manuel from Murcia, the Suárez de Figueroa from Galicia, the Guzmán and Ponce de León, who created important lordships in Andalusia. A number of families, such as Pimentel, Acuña, Coello, and Pacheco, came from Portugal after the failure of the Trastámara attempt to seize the Portuguese crown.

In the second part of his book Mitre examines in detail the privileges and concessions made by Enrique III to the nobility, and he studies the formation of the principal noble families and the location of their lordships. A map illustrating the last point is included, but the names printed on it are scarcely legible, so that the map's value is minimal. The author has done extensive archival research, especially at Simancas and Madrid, and he has made use of the few narrative sources and documentary collections relating to the period. His book is a useful contribution to a much neglected period in the history of Castile, as it reveals the process by which the new



nobility came to dominate the government and also how a pro-aristocratic mentality began to pervade Castilian society. One would expect, however, that a better perspective would be achieved by studying a broader period than the single decade of Enrique III's reign.

Fordham University

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

DREI INQUISITIONS-VERFAHREN AUS DEM JAHRE 1425: AKTEN DER PROZESSE GEGEN DIE DEUTSCHEN HUSSITEN JOHANNES DRÄNDORF UND PETER TURNAU SOWIE GEGEN DRÄNDORFS DIENER MARTIN BORCHARD. Edited with an introduction by *Hermann Heimpel*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Nummer 24.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp 265. DM 26.)

THIS is an exemplary edition of late medieval sources. It is based on newly discovered materials which make the three cases described the best documented trials for heresy brought before the German Inquisition. Drändorf and Turnau, who were of Hussite conviction, were tried and executed in the spring of 1425, while Borchard, Drändorf's servant, who was involved because he carried letters from his master to various recipients, merely received a penitential fine. Drändorf was a priest and very outspoken about his conviction: Turnau was a schoolteacher and sought to defend himself with subtle and evasive legal argumentation. During his trial he was repeatedly admonished to "answer simply." It may be recorded that in the sixteenth century the two victims received a measure of historical fame, for the Protestant reformers praised them as glorious witnesses to the truth of the gospel.

The general introduction surveys the historical evidence of the three cases, gives biographical sketches of Drändorf, Borchard, and Turnau, and summarizes their respective views. Then follow the edited sources pertaining to the three men, including the lengthy *pièce justificative* of Drändorf, "Misericors Deus," in which he inveighed against the practice of excommunication and the political rule of the clergy. The final section of the book consists of a detailed commentary on the sources.

The subject matter of this book will restrict its appeal to specialists in late medieval history, though others can glean valuable insights into the nature of inquisitorial procedures in the early fifteenth century. In any case, the exemplary quality of this edition makes this volume a significant contribution to historical scholarship.

Duke University

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLORENTINE HUMANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Donald J. Wilcox*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXXII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 223. \$8.00.)

DONALD Wilcox here presents the result of an unusually close and attentive reading of three fifteenth-century Florentine historians. An introduction, three chapters on Bruni, two on Poggio, and one on Bartolommeo Scala provide both reinterpretation and reevaluation. Certainly new questions are asked and new answers furnished; and one learns much about the histories discussed that other studies do not provide. Yet partisanship and peculiarities of approach flaw the whole, leaving the reader dissatisfied.

Wilcox accepts the conclusion of recent scholars that humanist history was "rhetorical history," while at the same time trying to show that humanist historians trans-

cended the boundaries of rhetoric. He is only partially successful. While chiding other writers for their failure "to look beyond their historical presuppositions in order to judge the humanists in fifteenth-century terms," he does not avoid this trap himself. Seeing something of our own concerns in his subject, he tells us that Bruni (and to a lesser extent Poggio) had "a vision of historical reality which was fundamentally intangible, and founded in human psychology, the basic historical substance in terms of which all other elements need to be understood." We are not told how this fits with the earlier statement that, in choosing politics as his subject, Bruni "meant to choose the one significant factor which he considered the key to understanding all important historical events and human activities." Granted that Bruni usually described the emotional states associated with the events he recounted, this does not add up to a psychological theory of human action. To Bruni, as to all men of his time, emotions were moral categories as well as psychological ones; the attempt to deny this by arguing that Bruni made Giangaleazzo Visconti's deceitfulness "not an ethical category but an historically developing and vitally personal trait" simply does not come off. Wilcox seems also to forget Bruni's statement in *De studiis*: "Somehow anger and pity and every excitement and restraint of the soul are in the power of the orator." To write of psychology as separate from moral philosophy and rhetoric is not to consider it in fifteenth-century terms.

A defender of the humanists, Wilcox stresses their seriousness of purpose. The humanists deserve to be defended. Yet his defense produces cloudiness or confusion rather than clarity. What are we to make of the statement on page 51 that "Though [Bruni] introduces the section with a straightforward promise to explain its cause, he apparently sees that the causality is too complex to be stated directly, for he proceeds with a narrative of the events"? The simpler explanation would be that Bruni makes false promises, or has a peculiar notion of causality, but Wilcox does not consider these possibilities. What is his view of Poggio? On page 139 Poggio's history is "conceptualized . . . in such a way that events may be coherently related to one another." On page 151, however, "The *Historia florentina*, while it shows an energetic application of analytical tools to the search for answers to deeply felt questions . . . is fundamentally an incoherent work." Yet, on page 175, "Poggio, while acquiring a coherent historical understanding, weakens the rigor of his analysis by the addition of a moralizing element." There may be an underlying consistency in these statements, but the reader must work too hard to find it.

Princeton University

J. E. SEIGEL

NAVIRES ET GENS DE MER À BORDEAUX (VERS 1400-VERS 1500). Volumes I and II; Volume III, APPENDICES: MOUVEMENT DE LA NAVIGATION À BORDEAUX DE 1445 À 1520, D'APRÈS LES ARCHIVES NOTARIALES. By Jacques Bernard. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports—routes—trafics, Number 23.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1968. Pp. 445; 458-929; 507. 175 fr. the set.)

THE title, the series, and the length of Jacques Bernard's work all imply quantitative economic history of the school which has given us Chaunu's study of Seville. With the exception of Volume III, a painstaking compilation of references to shipping from notarial practices, such an impression would be false. The first two volumes, in more than eight hundred pages of text and 3,500 footnotes, are devoted instead to a description of maritime transport, from the point of view of shipowners and sailors.

Bernard has explored thoroughly all the sources that might lead to measurement, including the accounts of the Constables of Bordeaux and the Gascon Treaty Rolls in the Public Record Office, and, for the period after 1453, the immensely rich notarial holdings in Bordeaux (eighty-six practices for the period). The latter yield only about 15-30 per cent of the possible evidence on ships and cargoes, but very few port registers survive. Thus Bernard turns from measuring to mapping. Six maps, clearly drawn and expanding the navigator's world from the port of Bordeaux to the western shores of Europe, trace the geographical bases of his work. These are truly maritime charts, showing principal routes, with soundings and distances and sites of shipwrecks. Down to the generation after 1530, when the first vessel cleared Bordeaux for Newfoundland, all of her trade was in coasting and in local fishing. The author discusses the evolution of vessels carefully, combining descriptions by capacity, rigging, and function. Oared ships, unsuited for voyages to southern England and to Flanders, were going out of use in the mid-fifteenth century. By the 1470's, halfway through Bernard's period, the round-keeled *nef*, one-third as wide as it was long, was also disappearing. Two types of vessels were becoming more prevalent: the Breton coaster, perhaps forty-five tons, also round-keeled but squared off aft and carrying two or three masts; and the caravelle, somewhat larger, using lateen sails and planked all the way up to the deck. Bernard imaginatively describes the types through contemporary woodcuts and graffiti found on the covers of notaries' notebooks. His naval archaeology resembles Frederick Lane's for Venice.

In the second volume, Bernard describes the collective psychology of men who sailed from Bordeaux. Here the analysis is more reminiscent of Fernand Braudel. The rude life of the sea and the loneliness of the transient set the tone. Once again there is no measurement of numbers or of levels of wealth, but a geographical panorama of types, from the shipbuilders of Bayonne to the sailors of Weymouth and of Penmarc'h. They combined the functions of investment, command, and labor on board. When putting over in Bordeaux, the seamen huddled together in boarding houses and in *confreries*, distrusting other communities. In port brawls and in privateering loyalty to crew preceded loyalty to nation. In one of his most evocative chapters, Bernard characterizes the *gens de mer* as unimaginative, serious, illiterate, and Catholic but increasingly irreligious—all from the evidence of ships' names.

Jacques Bernard has etched a portrait of early modern man, still rude but no longer superstitious. His book, despite several glances toward economic history, is in the tradition of Huizinga and Lucien Febvre. More compelling than the thousands of examples which make the work so long is Bernard's search for the mentality of seafaring men of all the Atlantic coasts.

University of Pennsylvania

PERRY VILES

#### COMPTES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ÉTAT BOURGUIGNON ENTRE 1416 ET 1420.

Part 3, in two volumes. Published by *Michel Mollat*, with the collaboration of *Robert Favreau*, under the direction of *Robert Fawtier*. [Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers, Number 5.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; distrib. by Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris. 1969. Pp. 295; 307-719.)

WITH the appearance of these two fascicules the entire texts of seven Burgundian accounts for the years 1416-1420 are now in print. Parts 1 and 2 of this publication were reviewed in the *AHR*, LXII (Dec. 1967), 461-62. The two accounts in Part 3 are of the receipt-general of Flanders and Artois. They contain a wealth of information about

the administration and councilors of Flanders, about the Duke's finances and methods of raising money, about the repair and rebuilding of the ducal residences at Bruges, Ghent, and elsewhere, about the fate of the Duke's prisoners at Sluis and Lille castles, about military expenses, and about a thousand and one other matters, many of them trivial. Although the editing is meticulous and accurate, little has been done in the printed texts to facilitate the use of these accounts. The page heads are totally uninformative, no attempt has been made to omit or abridge the large amount of repetitious material, there are no summaries or tables of figures, and the notes are limited to printing the comments made in the margins of accounts by the officers who audited them. Is it really good enough simply to print these medieval financial texts as one finds them? Might not a microfilm of the original manuscripts (easily available) be just as convenient in use as these bulky volumes? Even when the index is available, it will be no simple matter to look up a series of references in these three large volumes, comprising over 10,000 numbered paragraphs in all. Could not editors of accounts manage to abridge and summarize where possible and provide each volume with its own notes and index? But it would be unfair to pass final judgment on this notable enterprise until the index volume has been published. Let us hope its appearance will not be unduly delayed.

University of Hull

RICHARD VAUGHAN

## Modern Europe

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA GRAN BRETAGNA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. Third Series: 1848-1860. Volume V (11 GENNAIO 1855-30 DICEMBRE 1856). Edited by *Federico Curato*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969. Pp. xi, 402. L. 5,500.)

ENGLAND AND ITALY A CENTURY AGO: A NEW TURN IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION HELD DURING THE BRITISH WEEK IN MILAN (9-17 October 1965). Edited by *Carlo De Cugis*. (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1967. Pp. xiv, 399.)

WISCONSIN's Chester Penn Higby liked to remind History 267, his celebrated European seminar, of a certain historian who employed only one primary source, the *Annual Register*. The two books under review would suit such a gentleman, for both contain original materials and both are pretty much in English. The first prints the salient diplomatic papers of Great Britain and Sardinia-Piedmont for the calendar years 1855 and 1856. It offers painstakingly annotated texts from the chief public and private United Kingdom archives. Attached are the dispatches in French of Count Cavour and his associates. The period, of course, coincides with Sardinia's participation in the Crimean War and the Congress of Paris.

That the editor travels in good company is demonstrated by his initial bow of thanks to Ennio Di Nolfo whose *Europa e Italia nel 1855-1856* (Rome, 1967) is standard. Though many of Curato's documents have surfaced before, they bring tidbits that can adorn an undergraduate paper. "Cavour," declared the British minister at Turin, James Hudson, "is . . . very difficult to 'corner' as the Yankees express it. He is a great whist player, a great eater, a great worker and in ordinary life what we should call a very

'jolly fellow.' " Or the records can supply a topic for a master's thesis, say, the affair of the Anglo-Italian Legion, Prince Murat's conspiracies for the Neapolitan crown, the diplomacy of Parma's Baron Thomas Ward, an ex-Yorkshire groom. While scholarship since 1945 has thrown figures of the high *Risorgimento* into sharp relief, the full reports by key British public men now light some of the shadows. Lord Clarendon thought Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia "a thorough *snob*. He has but two ideas in the world, one is to filch territory in Italy from anybody and the other is to hate Austria *as much as ever he possibly can*. . . ." Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, jovial in real life, also got lumps from the peer. "I hope at all events Bomba will not be allowed to continue his wicked ways with impunity."

The second book has parallel passages in English and Italian and is handsomely illustrated with selections from the period prints displayed at the 1965 British Week exposition in Milan. It is a summary of Anglo-Italian trading a century ago and an exhaustive description of the 746 items under glass at the show. The actual focus is 1859 to 1866 though the story fetches back through the whole Cavourian decade of the 1850's. The author suggests that a new turn came because the *Risorgimento*, with its economic and financial needs, corresponded with Victorian factory and bank expansion at a time when technological improvement and free trade reached their majority. All these encouraged England to build up Italy for Mediterranean balance against France. Italy wanted once again to be the halfway house between the West and the East. Minutiae support the theme. The student who owns a faded old letter to India sent "c/o Mr. Waghorn, Alexandria," can find paragraphs on Thomas Waghorn and the routes to the Orient. Another investigator can determine the effects of the 1866 slump in days when Italy was a leading customer for British cotton and coal.

To end, there is little here that will require a rewriting of Italian diplomatic and economic history but plenty that will make it more intelligible. Together the books weigh three and a half kilos.

University of Miami

DUANE KOENIG

SOVIET-POLISH RELATIONS, 1917-1921. By *Piotr S. Wandycz*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 59.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 403. \$10.00.)

THE fall of Kiev to the Poles and Petliura's Ukrainian divisions in May 1920 and the appearance of Soviet troops under Tukhachevskii at the gates of Warsaw in August of that same year are two of the most dramatic events in Soviet-Polish relations in the period 1917-1921. They are also two of the most significant, for they represent the near realization of the aspirations of two great leaders: Pilsudski and Lenin. For Pilsudski, the liberation of Kiev from the Bolsheviks was part of his grand design for an East Central European federation. Composed of Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Poland, such a federation was the only solution, in Pilsudski's view, to the nationality and boundary problems of this region following the First World War. Only a federation, Pilsudski believed, could guarantee the independence of the states situated between Germany and Russia. For Lenin, on the other hand, the westward drive of Tukhachevskii meant a Communist government in Poland, direct contact with and influence on the German proletarian masses, and the ultimate success of world revolution. The concept of "socialism in one country" had not yet been devised.

East Central Europe was not ready for Pilsudski's federalism, nor was the world ripe for revolution, though even now there are many who believe that only the

"miracle on the Vistula" saved Western Europe from Communism in 1920. By October of that year, both Poland and Russia were so completely exhausted that the peace negotiations begun that summer at Minsk finally bore fruit at Riga. While the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921) is often regarded as a compromise peace, Professor Wandycz justifiably points out that in reality it was a complete negation of the hopes on both sides.

*Soviet-Polish Relations* is above all a diplomatic history; although military and political affairs are de-emphasized, they are skillfully woven into the narrative. Professor Wandycz deserves commendation for his courage in undertaking so complex a problem and for the clarity of his presentation. A few of the factors that complicated the relations between Poland and Russia from 1917 to 1921 were World War I and the Civil War in Russia, the divergent views in the West (especially between England and France) toward the Bolshevik regime and re nascent Poland, the political factionalism in the Polish government, the national consciousness of the borderland peoples; all of these are taken into account and their influence on Soviet-Polish relations is properly evaluated. This multiplicity of factors often obscured the direction of diplomatic maneuvers and the real objectives being pursued and resulted in extreme suspicion among all the parties involved.

Basing his study on many new manuscript and printed source materials, Professor Wandycz has given us a more complete picture and a better understanding of the years 1917-1921 than has hitherto been available. These were years that were decisive in shaping the future of all of Eastern Europe.

*Ohio State University*

CHARLES MORLEY

THE SYSTEM: THE MISGOVERNMENT OF MODERN BRITAIN. By *Max Nicholson*. Introduction by *Max Lerner*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. [1969.] Pp. xv, 455. \$10.95.)

ONCE general secretary of PEP (Political and Economic Planning), a private research organization, Mr. Nicholson (who is also, we are told, a distinguished ornithologist) served in the Ministry of Transport during the Second World War and as secretary of the Lord President's office from 1945 to 1952. Knowing Whitehall from within and not liking what he knows, he is out to strangle the last civil servant in the entrails of the last don.

Some of Nicholson's diagnoses and some of his remedies are worth considering. But if, like the curate's egg, parts of this book are excellent, the taste of the whole leaves much to be desired. To comment only on his principal concern, would not a government of professionals (and departmental professionals at that), as opposed to a government of "amateurs," merely substitute one myopia for another? And if Nicholson will allow what Sir Henry Taylor advocated in *The Statesman* in 1836—the necessity for a group of men freed from ordinary routine "in order that they may take thought for the morrow"—can he avoid merely replacing a set of mandarins recruited in one way for a set of mandarins recruited in another? Indeed, Nicholson proposes to govern just as much as his enemies in Whitehall, only altering the incidence of inefficiency, and seems to betray quite as firm a conviction as they that he knows what is best for the people, whom he wants to dragoon into participating, like some latter-day Plantagenet.

This book warrants mention to historians because of two profound errors, one of omission, the other of commission. Parochial, like so many of his countrymen, Nicholson makes only the feeblest comparative gestures. He often refers to the United



States, but our more casually (or mysteriously) recruited bureaucrats do not seem these days to show so clearly the distinctive benefits he claims for professionalism. He admires the highly trained elite of French administrators, but the French miracle now looks insubstantial, and the rightness of decentralization is not much advanced by citing as an admirable instance the government of Northern Ireland. The error of commission is the historical cobweb in which Nicholson has compulsively set his arguments. Starting before the Romans and coming breathlessly through the nineteenth century (when he denies to Britain the status of a Great Power), Nicholson portrays an England no well-read historian would recognize. Oddly, he manages either to ignore the history of administration or to get it wrong: whatever went awry with British administration after 1855 cannot be blamed mostly on the ghost of Benjamin Jowett.

A deep sensitivity to the complexity of history and to the changeability of its content may disable an administrator or a politician from taking swift, decisive action; but a planner or a critic can use a long and reasonably well-informed perspective. One would like to see the part of politicians and administrators in the slow decline of Britain chronicled with the controlled passion of a fine historian; and if that decline turns out in fact to be a rake's progress, it is probably wise to display it from time to time with graphic immediacy and high moral intent. But Nicholson is neither a Gibbon nor a Hogarth. His book is another contemporary exercise in purgation, from which the author, and some readers no doubt, emerge feeling better, but which holds few noticeable prospects of bettering their society.

*American Historical Review*

R. K. WEBB

HISTORY OF THE LAW OF CHARITY, 1532-1827. By *Gareth Jones*. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiii, 270. \$12.50.)

Mr. Jones has given us a long-needed study of the development of the law of charitable uses (1532-1827), centering inevitably on the two great Elizabethan statutes of 1597 and 1601. The work is particularly valuable because it is solidly grounded on the cases heard in Chancery and because it takes in view the processes of law by which the statutory provisions were gradually altered and refined to meet the social and economic realities of English life. In this connection a particularly brilliant and learned treatment is given the rapid and sophisticated development of the *cy-près* doctrine, by which, when a charitable trust failed because its objects were uncertain or impossible, the courts could apply the bequest to a charitable use consonant with the donor's intentions.

Though the historical development of the law of charity has frequently been discussed, no scholar has previously anchored his analysis so firmly in the ultimate sources—the cases. Mr. Jones has mastered these sources, but at the same time is most eminently successful in treating these somewhat intractable materials with clarity, simplicity, and sustained vigor. Mr. Jones's work is in every respect an admirable accomplishment.

*Harvard University*

W. K. JORDAN

THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN ENGLAND, 1558 TO 1640: A LATER EIRENARCHA. By J. H. Gleason. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 285. \$8.75.)

In this succinct and cautious study, Professor Gleason has opened a small gold mine. He has not mined it as thoroughly as possible. Since the effect is to create employment for future miners, one can hardly complain. Gleason's essential achievement is to establish the rosters of J. P.'s for six counties (Kent, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Worcestershire, the North Riding of Yorkshire) as of five spaced years (1562, 1584, 1608, 1626, 1636). He gives us thirty lists of names (specifically reproduced in appendixes), together with data of various sorts about the individuals listed, whence statistical projections can be made. The counties are diverse enough to form a national sample.

What do the lists represent beyond their obvious content? The answer is that county élites were authenticated by a central government that exercised care about whom it put on the Commissions of the Peace, but could not really veto or amend the process of social "natural selection." This point is not startling. In establishing it by freshly rigorous means, Gleason has made a contribution. What can we do with lists of county élites? The author makes interesting uses of his material. He does not work it over from all angles, present it as strikingly as possible, or venture far enough into the projection that is first statistical and then imaginative. I can best suggest the value of the mine by stating the results of a little arithmetic which the reader is left to do.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, it was twice as likely that a working J. P. would have attended no institution of higher education (University or Inn of Court) as that he would have attended one. (Professor Gleason usefully distinguishes working J. P.'s from the dignitaries on Commissions.) This situation changed rapidly in the first Elizabethan decades. By 1584, the chance of such attendance was better than even, after which the odds for higher education went on improving, up to four to one. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, it was six times more likely that a J. P. would have attended an Inn than that he would have attended a University. Though this differential diminished steadily, it remained significant through the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth, the chance of University attendance got to be as good as that of Inn attendance. Throughout the period studied, the chance of attendance at both institutions gained steadily, until on the eve of the Civil War it was close to even. At all times, Commissions contained appreciable numbers of real lawyers, as distinct from mere Inn-attenders. Gleason shows that barrister-J. P.'s were much more likely than laymen to be active in their office. Interestingly, the chance of a J. P.'s being a barrister varied little throughout the period studied. These conclusions are subject to regional variation. Across time, one sees a gradual homogenization of upper-class educational expectations. In 1584, a Norfolk J. P. was twice as likely to be University-educated as an average J. P. Kent gained dramatically in the late-Elizabethan decades, then went on to become the "most educated" of the élites. Western counties gained more slowly. By the Civil War, save for Kent's lead (Kent's increasingly "Westchester" quality is well documented in this book), the gentry were educationally similar throughout the country.

From such a profile, one must go on into verification and explanation. The book invites similar operations with respect to other social data and to the Tudor-Stuart system of government. Though Gleason stops too soon, he has furnished a study from which seminars can take off.

*University of Chicago*

CHARLES M. GRAY

BRITISH AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Paul Delany*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. vi, 198. \$6.00.)

THAT the prevailing seventeenth-century concept of history as *exempla* carried over into autobiography scarcely comes as a surprise. When Herbert of Cherbury thought fit to relate to posterity those passages in his life that would be most useful, when Richard Coppin set before his readers "truth's testimony," and when Lady Fanshawe sought to assist her son to avoid those misfortunes she had already passed through, they were homiletically applying the gospel according to Cicero, the master of life, the light of truth. The taste for autobiography in the seventeenth century has long been known, but Mr. Delany has extensively and precisely footnoted it, with chapters on religious, secular, and feminine autobiographers. He has also done much more. He has set the English flowering in the Renaissance bed, related it to contemporary tensions, political, religious, social, and cultural, and sought to account for its diverse character. As he makes clear, however, that character included little self-analysis, and even the little was unwitting. In this respect Englishmen differed from their continental contemporaries, which dynamites any plausible theory about an "archetypal and universal impulse" labeled individualism.

Mr. Delany's account has the defect of its virtues. Shrewd and informing as he is, he has too ruthlessly attended to conscious accounts, making more of the difficulties of selection and manageability than he needed to. In excluding random self-revelation—poetry, sermons, pamphlets—he has rejected what might have revealed a generous infusion of the self-analysis he finds so rare. *La vérité est dans les nuances*. Because "autobiography"—the word presumably was coined by Southey in 1809—had no strict limits he could properly have spread his wings. Clearly he is not concerned only to provide a biblio-autobiography, but rather to probe the intellectual history of seventeenth-century England. Now that he has tested the trees he is equipped to survey the wood.

*University of Missouri, Columbia*

CHARLES F. MULLETT

JOHN WILKINS, 1614–1672: AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Barbara J. Shapiro*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. 333. \$9.50.)

JOHN Wilkins was one of the seventeenth century's most versatile clerics. He was successful as an author on subjects ranging from popular science to theology, as an academic administrator, as patron of rising young scientists, and in his profession—he was Bishop of Chester at his death. He necessarily figures in many aspects of seventeenth-century history, yet this is the first comprehensive study of his life and works. It will be welcomed by many historians for its illumination of the period.

Wilkins' career illustrates many tendentious themes, especially the vexed question of the role of Puritanism in seventeenth-century thought. The author emphasizes his generally moderate approach: Though his grandfather was a notoriously radical Puritan, he himself was never a zealot; he befriended members of the whole spectrum of faith during his tenure as Warden of Wadham, and made the transition from Commonwealth to Restoration with ease. Shapiro argues cogently against the tendency to see Puritanism as fostering advanced ideas, especially in science; in the absence of detailed information about what Wilkins actually thought, she devotes possibly too much space to refuting such arguments in different connections. As Shapiro rightly points out, Wilkins' moderation, which doubtless explains his academic success, makes him a less than ideal figure to support the theory that Puritanism was a strong ingredient

in the rise of the Royal Society. Nor does she think that he was a keen Baconian (in contradistinction to other recent accounts), though possibly she rates his influence in the Royal Society too highly.

Wilkins was in fact no scientist. He was a popularizer, writing on the moon as like the earth (1638); influenced especially by Kepler's *Somnium*, on the earth as a planet (1640); on mechanics for fun (1648). His later interests often reflect the more trivial side of seventeenth-century experimentation. Shapiro offers no real clues to his early acceptance of and interest in the new Copernican telescopic astronomy; this is a pity, for Wilkins was not a particularly independent thinker and one would like to know more. Seth Ward, the most original of mid-seventeenth-century English mathematical astronomers, was patently an important influence on Wilkins later—as in the *Real Character*, an attempt at a universal scientific language—but they only met in the 1640's. Wilkins' theological interests and writings are capably and extensively analyzed. It is unfortunate that the notes were not converted into a systematic bibliography, which would have increased the utility of a very useful book.

Imperial College, London

MARIE BOAS HALL

DISSENT AND PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN ENGLAND, 1661-1689: A STUDY IN THE PERPETUATION AND TEMPERING OF PARLIAMENTARIANISM. By *Douglas R. Lacey*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 520. \$15.00.)

IN this judicious, perceptive, and well-documented book Professor Lacey has provided us with our first opportunity for understanding the role of Dissenters in parliamentary politics under the two last Stuart kings. The focus is upon the moderate Puritans, but much is also related of those with strong sectarian views who desired freedom to separate entirely from the established Church. Between those willing to conform occasionally to qualify for office and Anglicans of less intransigence than Sheldon's following, alliance was possible, though it was often accompanied by latent distrust and uneasiness. Between these parliamentary Nonconformists and the determined separatists there was a difference not only about the degree of compromise possible but concerning ultimate political aspirations. The former were willing for a measure of comprehension and something similar to the arrangements suggested at Newport; the latter, on the whole, cherished republican ideals and the vision of a written constitution with explicit legal guarantees of religious and juridical liberties. In writing about both kinds of Puritans, Lacey suggests reasons for failure at the Restoration and for the very moderate degree of toleration obtained in the post-Revolutionary settlement. "The enduring significance of their efforts is that they contributed to the development of a form of government to which minorities and individuals turned during future centuries when they sought full recognition and protection of their interests and rights."

After briefly reviewing the disintegration of Puritan power in 1659-1661, caused as much by divisions among the Saints as by the initial strength of their opponents, Lacey examines the criteria for Dissent. (Two appendixes present additional evidence and much biographical material about Presbyterians and Congregationalists sitting in Parliament, and a third tabulates parliamentary service by year.) The effects of defeat and of the enforcement of uniformity in the first half of the period are analyzed. Despair in the face of Cavalier refusal of any concession led to a weakening of faith in relief by Parliament and serious consideration of acceptance of royal clemency to relieve the situation.

After 1673 Dissent enjoyed a revival of influence, due less to the leadership of prominent sympathizers like Philip Lord Wharton or Denzil Lord Holles, than to a cohesiveness brought about by family and social connections. Influence was exerted in Parliament by the occasional conformers and their allies, and outside not only by these but by literary activity, lobbying, and electioneering in which groups like Quakers and Baptists, not themselves able to run for office, nevertheless developed considerable skill. Nonconformists played a role in the crises over exclusion but did not, Lacey thinks, take any great part in the plots and risings that followed failure to change the succession. The severity of recrimination for their real or supposed complicity led to a brief return of hopes for indulgence at the hands of James II, but this was soon swamped in growing fears of popery and arbitrary government. Dissenters hoped for consideration for their refusal to cooperate with James from both Dutch William and moderate Anglicans, but these were only partially fulfilled and for full citizenship, religious dissidents in Britain had to wait for another century and a half. The vast majority of members of the established Church were apprehensive that concession would lead to a loss of their privileged status.

Lacey provides an excellent index both of persons and subjects. The "Bibliographical Note on Manuscript Sources" reveals the extent and magnitude of the investigation undertaken and offers a first-rate guide to sources of the political-religious history of the period. Students of this history, as well as all concerned with studying the vicissitudes of the quest for liberty, cannot afford to neglect *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics*.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY, 1901-1933: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM ABOUT 450 A.D. TO 1914, PUBLISHED DURING THE YEARS 1901-1933 INCLUSIVE, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING A SELECT LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN THESE YEARS ON BRITISH HISTORY SINCE 1914. Volume IV, THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1714-1815. In two parts. [Royal Historical Society.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1969. Pp. 297; 390. \$10.00; \$13.50.)

INSPIRED by the example of Grace Gardiner Griffin and her successors in the listing of writings in American history, The Royal Historical Society began in 1934 to plan a series of bibliographies of British history—at the start to cover publications in 1934 and subsequently. The first volume of *Writings in British History* in 1934 appeared in 1937 and was compiled by A. Taylor Milne. Much delayed by World War II, the seventh, in two parts covering the years 1940-45, from the same compiler, appeared in 1960. Another for the period through the fifties is well under way. In the future, the Institute of Historical Research will undertake responsibility for the series. In 1968 the first three volumes of *Writings, 1901-1933* came out, one of them on auxiliary sciences and general works, the other two on the Middle Ages, and Tudors and Stuarts respectively. It is no secret that the late Professor Hale Bellot was the compiler of Volumes IV and V, and it is good to hear that he was also able, before his death in February 1969, to correct the proof of the fifth volume, 1815-1914, to which an appendix covering a select list of publications from the years 1901-33, on British history after 1914, is promised.

An impressive shelf of tools is now available for the use of students of British his-

tory. In using the *Writings 1901-1933*, they will also be obliged to consult the guide to the publications of English and Welsh learned societies produced by E. C. Mullins in 1968, and two early works covering Scottish societies and clubs, 1780-1908 and 1909-1927, respectively compiled by C. S. Terry and published in 1909 and C. Matheson, published in 1928. Though to cavil at all about these extensive labors seems ungracious, there will probably be many who would have been glad if the decision had been to include in the five volumes of *Writings 1901-1933* all appropriate material from these.

Like the series commenced by Grace Gardiner Griffin, the British editors have attempted exhaustive listing of all publications during the announced period. These include books, with convenient references to reviews of them in learned journals, monographs, and articles. Though commentary by compilers is absent, the searcher can check on contemporary evaluation of the larger works listed.

Part I of Volume IV, omitting books covered in Volume I and extending more than one hundred years in either direction of the eighteenth century, has a brief section on general works followed by political, constitutional, legal; economic and social; ecclesiastical and cultural, with military and naval history, maritime history, and foreign affairs occupying about the same space. The remainder of the volume lists works on local history, Channel Islands, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. To Scotland must be added works on the risings of 1715 and 1745.

Part II is devoted to the Empire, the American colonies, and to lives, collective and individual, memoirs, diaries and letters. The index is excellent. The curious reader can find much to ponder in the revelations of the interests and preoccupations of historians in the three decades of book production provided by this series, as well as the more obvious virtues of exhaustive listing.

*Bryn Mawr College*

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE HOME OFFICE, 1782-1801. By R. R. Nelson. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 199. \$9.00.)

ECONOMIC reform and the rivalry of Fox and Shelburne necessitated a redistribution of administrative functions between the British Secretaries of State. Thus established in March 1782, the Home Office retained responsibility for colonial affairs and relations with the Barbary States, and, under the Secretary's inherent jurisdiction, continued to direct army operations until 1794. Dr. Nelson's competent study of its workings in its first twenty years is based on Home Office archives, supplemented by the interesting papers of Scrope Bernard, Under Secretary from 1789 to 1792, as well as the printed sources.

This book falls into two sections: personnel and work. The author has amassed much information about the former, making a useful contribution to our knowledge of late eighteenth-century civil servants. The department's functions he examines rather briefly: secret service, public order, the alien office, and more. The activities of the Home Office against the radicals in the 1790's can be examined only in the "broadest and most general sense," he claims, for it formed only part of the government's response; the secret service accounts are missing; and Pitt's must have been the decisive voice. Nelson, like Dr. O'Gorman, tries to rehabilitate Portland, the Home Secretary from 1794.

Concerned with implementation rather than making of policy, Nelson has kept within rather narrow bounds. Some problems are briefly dismissed: increased business relating to pardons was "perhaps a reflection of the growth of a more humanitarian



view of crime," which is to ignore the increase in convictions, though we learn that a clerk kept a register to show fluctuations in felonies. Nor does Nelson comment on the evident continuance of the issue of general warrants. The brief description of law enforcement in London and Westminster before 1792 is misleading.

For the administrative historian this is a useful book, though hardly fulfilling all the expectations roused by its title.

*Queen Mary College, University of London*

M. H. PORT

COURTAULDS: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY. Volume I, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: SILK AND CRAPE; Volume II, RAYON. By D. C. Coleman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 283; xxii, 521. \$21.00 the set.)

COURTAULDS is one of those big, rare, nineteenth-century British firms that successfully adapted itself to twentieth-century conditions. Volume I, based on patchy mill records and family correspondence, shows how George Courtauld III (1793–1881) became the world's biggest manufacturer of black crape. Volume II, using private company records, portrays the world's largest manufacturer of rayon in the early twentieth century. All the variables that reveal a firm's performance over time—technology, costs, capital, markets, labor—are fully analyzed (there are some two hundred tables, graphs and diagrams), but the argument moves beyond economic causes to social and political factors, especially to the roles of entrepreneurs, although the criteria used to evaluate entrepreneurial behavior are not altogether clear.

Several particular features vary what is otherwise the typical development of a family textile firm. The location is Essex: success came when George Courtauld III entered an industry on the threshold of change, outpaced his competitors by rapid modernization, and concentrated on one specialty for a protected domestic market, the black crape required for Victorian mourning rituals. Buoyant prices and falling raw silk costs after 1860 yielded high profits until 1886, when middle-class consumer resistance associated with the Great Depression, together with a rising world demand for raw silk, narrowed margins. The firm actually fell behind its competitors, however, because Samuel Courtauld III was a country gentleman and a "reluctant businessman." Undoubtedly, entrepreneurial weakness was partly to blame but the founder could also qualify for inclusion among the "entrepreneurially guilty men."

The enterprise was revived in the 1890's by outsiders who pushed new products and then created a public company to manufacture chemical fibers. The directors had only a mild interest in chemistry, and success was achieved by brilliant commercial strategy. Reserves were used to acquire patents; international consortia arranged marketing; after 1920 when a world-wide expansion of rayon production intensified competition and prices fell, Courtaulds sought price stability at home and abroad, and economies of scale paid off. An American offspring, the American Viscose Corporation, made more profitable than the parent company by high tariffs and war-time inflation, was overtaken by rivals in the 1930's, although its productivity remained above that in Courtaulds' British plants. On both sides of the Atlantic the company waged a constant struggle with tax authorities and met mounting pressure from trade unions. Like so many British firms, Courtaulds only slowly came to grips with these new realities. Mistakes were made, particularly in running A.V.C., which the British government sold precipitously in return for Lend-Lease. By the 1930's, the company's managerial structure ill-suited its size, and although Samuel Courtauld IV introduced improve-

ments, their effects were not apparent by 1941, when the story ends, so he remains an enigmatic figure. Let us hope that the third volume which Professor Coleman anticipates will remedy this discontinuity.

This is a fascinating, well-documented, and important study of the fluctuating fortunes of an industrial giant which no economic historian of the period can afford to ignore. It contains much new material on the silk and rayon industries and provides fresh insights into familiar aspects of British industrial growth. For example, Dissent in the Courtauld family produced Liberal Radicals and the Braintree Church Rate Case rather than successful business careers.

*University of New South Wales*

GORDON RIMMER

BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN NORTH INDIA: A STUDY OF THE DELHI RESIDENCY 1803-1857. By K. N. Panikkar. Foreword by Bisheshwar Prasad. (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House. 1968. Pp. 200. Rs. 25.)

To most historians, and particularly those of British India, the nature of the decision-making process and the role of the "man on the spot" has been of vital concern. Dr. K. N. Panikkar has chosen to deal with this question through an assessment of the functioning of the Delhi residency in the first half of the nineteenth century. During the years that the Moghul Emperor still occupied the throne, albeit insecurely, Delhi and the surrounding princely states were vital to British interests. Successive governors-general, supported by London, resisted direct intervention in their affairs; but in this they were opposed by the residents. It is with this conflict, and with the actual policies implemented towards the Moghul Emperor and towards the states of Rajputana and the cis-Sutlej Punjab, that the author most intimately concerns himself.

Panikkar has made good use of the resources of the National Archives of India in New Delhi. He quite properly identifies David Ochterlony and Charles Metcalfe as the most influential occupiers of the Delhi residency, and he renders an accurate account of the history of British diplomatic relations with a north of India which the British ruled, but where an anachronistic Moghul Emperor and an assortment of minor princes still reigned.

The detailed accounting of these events has undoubted value. It would have added to the readability of the work, however, if the author could have breathed more life into the far from dull characters with whom he deals. Greater analysis rather than straight exposition and a form of organization allowing for less chronological repetition might also have been desirable. Nevertheless, for scholars and general readers interested in the intricacies of indirect rule as practiced by Calcutta, London, and the British residents in Delhi, Panikkar's book is of undoubted value.

*California Institute of Technology*

ROBERT A. HUTTENBACK

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONSTITUTION, 1815-1914: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. Edited and Introduced by H. J. Hanham. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 486. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$4.95.)

THE selections from documents which Professor Hanham has compiled provide a set of sharp pictures of many of the formal and informal organs of British government at numerous points in time between 1815 and 1914. Many of his selections are fairly substantial. On average, each is somewhat more than a page in length. Few of them have been published before in any comparable collection. They are the fruit of

Hanham's broad interests and wide reading. In consequence, they reflect a greater emphasis than has usually been placed upon constitutional theory, the party system, the civil service, the government departments in Whitehall, and the organs of local government.

Like the companion volumes edited by Elton, Kenyon, and Williams, Hanham's volume is organized by subject. It is divided into eight chapters, "The Theory of the Constitution," "Cabinet Government," "Parliament," "Parties and Elections," "Central and Local Administration," "The Administration of Justice," "Church and State," and "Ireland." Four of these chapters are further divided into sub-chapters. For each of these chapters or sub-chapters the author has written an introductory vignette. He has tried to do more than merely introduce the documents which follow; he has tried to explain why those changes occurred in the organs of government which the documents suggest. Unfortunately, within the available space—in all, his eighteen vignettes come to some ninety pages in length—this latter attempt is scarcely possible without considerable oversimplification and an all but total disregard of those controversies to which his formulations and his choice of documents are directly relevant.

The essential novelty of Hanham's book lies in its scope. For this alone many teachers of nineteenth-century English history will find it a useful tool. But some of his contentions may well be challenged, for example the notion that institutional change in the nineteenth century was largely a consequence of the conscious application of constitutional theory, or that the enthusiasm for local self-government was a peculiarly Liberal phenomenon.

I hope that Hanham will soon write the extended work in which he will be able to argue his case on these and certain other questions more effectively. In the meantime he has compiled a useful collection of documents.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

D. C. MOORE

THE WAR OF THE UNSTAMPED: THE MOVEMENT TO REPEAL THE  
BRITISH NEWSPAPER TAX, 1830-1836. By *Joel H. Wiener*. (Ithaca, N.Y.:  
Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 310. \$10.00.)

THE subtitle is more descriptive of this specialized and detailed study than the title, because only five of the ten chapters focus on the heroic, embattled, working-class unstamped press. The efforts of Parliamentary radicals and middle-class reformers are central considerations of other chapters.

What was accomplished from 1830 to 1836 was a reduction of the "taxes on knowledge" from four pence to a penny, a bitterly frustrating result for the backers of the Great Unstamped. The author claims that this working-class disappointment was, like the reaction to the New Poor Law, an important cause of the Chartist movement. He stresses the inability of working-class and middle-class radicals to achieve unity in their repeal struggles. Although a growing polarization among reformers is demonstrated, many links between working-class and middle-class agitators are also uncovered. The author often labels particular links as some of the "few tangible" examples, yet they crop up throughout the book. Perhaps this is another revelation of the awkwardness imposed by strict use of the three-class model of social structure for early nineteenth-century England.

The unique strength of this book is derived from Professor Wiener's profound expertise in handling the vast unstamped press. Excerpts of all sorts are deftly woven into the text. In addition, research from several collections of papers has been in-

corporated, and once again testimony has been given to the seemingly inexhaustible richness of that great hodgepodge, the Place Collection. While the wealth of the primary material that went into this study is obvious, it seems that more use may have been made of some of the pioneering secondary works treating related problems.

Without doubt, this volume fills a gap in British working-class history, and along the way it briefly illuminates a host of figures, organizations, and publications hitherto shadowy or unknown.

Colorado State University

HENRY G. WEISSER

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN THE MID-VICTORIAN AGE: SOUTH AFRICA; NEW ZEALAND; THE WEST INDIES. By *W. P. Morrell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 507. \$12.50.)

IN 1930 W. P. Morrell published his *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*. Almost forty years later, much of that book retains its freshness and deserves reading by students of British Empire history. Few scholarly works have such longevity.

As Professor Morrell states in his preface, the present volume, which deals with the period 1852 to 1872, is a partial sequel, a return to a field of study from which he was long diverted by other commitments. There are great similarities in the format and treatment of the two books. Both begin with a general treatment of issues and personalities. Both devote considerable attention to South Africa, New Zealand, and the West Indies, though the earlier work also dealt with Canada and Australia. The style is recognizably that of the same author. Yet there is a fundamental difference which makes this book less impressive than the first. In part it arises from the fact that much of what Morrell has to say is not very new, since other historians have covered much the same ground. He does provide information not previously published, and he differs from previous authorities on a number of points, but the general impression is that of a competent standard treatment of the interaction between the British government and the colonies in South Africa, New Zealand, and the West Indies.

The author states that "these mid Victorian years are not an exciting period in the history of British colonial policy," unlike the era when responsible government was conceded, or that of late Victorian imperialism. Perhaps, but other historians might disagree that, for the study of British colonial policy, the years 1852-1872 are inherently dull.

It would be unfair to the book to dwell upon its limitations. The section on the West Indies provides new information on the travails of government in the area, and that on New Zealand, as might be expected, evidences a mastery of the subject of the interactions of the British government, the governors, and the New Zealand politicians. The section on South Africa, while not presenting significant fresh material, is a sound, accurate narrative.

There are no heroes in this book. During the twenty-year period the author discusses, neither South Africa nor New Zealand shows the Colonial Office at its best, though it did appear more enlightened in its governance of the West Indies during a difficult time. At the end, however, the Empire showed more resiliency than such critics as Goldwin Smith had expected. Instead of disintegrating, it strengthened itself by adjusting to colonial self-government. "This," writes Morrell, "was the mid Victorian achievement."

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JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN ENGLISH SOCIETY, 1780-1880. By *Harold Perkin*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 465. \$8.25.)

HAROLD Perkin, who is professor of social history at Lancaster and has served as editor of an excellent series of studies in that subject, has set out to write a "history of society *quâ* society, of social structure in all its manifold and constantly changing ramifications." In conjunction with this effort to present social history as a "vertebrate discipline," Perkin, clearly, also hoped to write a synthesis of some of the recent work done in the field. It may have been the attempt to harness the two enterprises which has seriously weakened both.

Though Perkin offers many acute insights, in his treatment of religion, for example, and supplies us as well with new material from his own researches, somehow he never appears to achieve the necessary authority over his subject. His method, moreover, often seems to be to conclude that the truth can be reached by ingeniously blending the conclusions of his predecessors. The vertebrate structure about which the synthesis is elaborated revolves about the emergence of modern class society from "the peculiarities and uniqueness of pre-industrial society in England." The character of this old society, for Perkin, following Laslett, was "a classless hierarchy" based on status, a society in which only one true class existed, and that "an open aristocracy based on property and patronage." The peculiar nature of this society, Perkin argues, was the "central, integrating cause" which brought about the Industrial Revolution in England; moreover, it was the "institutions which it had inherited from the old society," particularly the religious institutions, which made possible for England the speedy and pacific "institutionalization" of classes and class conflict and the attainment of a "viable class society."

The structure, we see, bears enormous weight, and it is not surprising that the argument supporting it is not always persuasive. Perkin, for example, postulates "uniqueness" without attempting any comparative analysis; moreover, while finding the class system "latent" in pre-industrial England, he prefers to ignore evidence of class which he himself provides. Indeed, climaxing the effort on the part of historians of early modern Europe to banish the cliché of the rising middle class, Perkin suggests, in a curious implicit comparison, that "there is no English word for *bourgeoisie* because, until the nineteenth century at least, the thing itself did not exist," all this while making Dissent, in the pre-industrial age, the "characteristic form" assumed by "hostility" (of course, latent) "of the middling ranks," not classes, "for the landed aristocracy." Perkin has an arguable case, but he fails to make it convincing.

*State University of New York, Stony Brook*

BERNARD SEMMEL

THE HARNEY PAPERS. Edited by *Frank Gees Black* and *Renee Métivier Black*. [Publications on Social History issued by the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, Number 5.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V. 1969. Pp. xxx, 388. 51.50 gls.)

CHARTISM is one of the most richly documented popular movements in history. A cheap press, circulating nationally and locally, and an urban working class with access to its productions, led to a flood of local and national periodicals, both serious and ephemeral. The historian of Chartism has access to the writings of its leaders, to reports of the speeches of local as well as national figures, and to collections of material amassed by participants and observers, from Place to Linton. But

when it comes to more personal documents, there is a considerable gap. Most of the leading figures were from the working classes, and working class households did not preserve letters and diaries as did those of the middle class. Moreover, there were periods later in the century when a working man with a history of involvement in radical activity might be embarrassed by the existence of documents connecting him with prominent leaders of the movement. Therefore, very few personal documents seem to have survived. Lovett preserved those papers that he considered to be of historical interest, but most of the letters among them were intended for publication or for reading aloud at the Convention. There were a few educated men outside the movement, like Thomas Allsop, who corresponded with some of the leading Chartists and kept their letters. There are a few caches of papers connected with Ernest Jones, notably the larger collection at Columbia University, but these have obviously been combed at some time and letters from the best-known figures removed.

The present collection is, therefore, of the very greatest interest, both intrinsically and because of the rarity of such material. It consists of an illuminating selection of the letters received during the second half of the nineteenth century by George Julian Harney, Chartist leader and journalist, and life-long radical, which have been preserved by his family in the United States. In addition there is a long run of letters from the collection at Amsterdam, written by Harney himself to Frederick Engels, beginning in 1846 and continuing, although with considerable gaps, until 1895. There are, alas, no letters from the early years of Chartism, though some new information on this period can be found in references and reminiscences in some of the later letters, particularly in the extremely interesting one from Harney to Engels, written on March 30, 1846. Here Harney gives his reasons for not expecting a rising of any sort in England: "The *body* of the English people, without becoming a slavish people, are becoming an eminently pacific people." He also defends O'Connor against Engels' criticisms, Engels having apparently suggested that he (Harney) would be a better leader of the movement than Feargus. "A popular chief should be possessed of a magnificent bodily appearance, an iron frame, eloquence, or at least a ready fluency of tongue. I have none of these. O'C has them all—at least in degree."

A first reading of the letters does not suggest that they will occasion any radical rewriting of Chartist history. Their great contribution is that they enlarge our understanding of some of the key figures. Harney's correspondents included many of the best-known figures in radical journalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic, and a number of the refugee liberals from Europe. But in some ways the most interesting letters are those from lesser-known people whose contact with Harney came from their Chartist activities. Among these are letters from John Shaw and George White, written from prison; some from Allen Pinkerton, a former Scottish Chartist in the United States; and a moving series from the lame weaver-poet, William Thom, ending with a note written from his Dundee weaving shed only a week or two before he died there in poverty. There are brief notes from Feargus O'Connor—intelligent, ebullient, generous—and a single letter from Ernest Jones, written just after he left prison in 1850, a letter in which Jones refers to Harney as his most valued friend; this correspondence offers some rare glimpses into the personal relationships that lay behind the splintering political alignments in the movement at the end of the 'forties.

The letters are printed with only minor excisions and are, apparently, only a selection of those in the editors' possession. They are presented clearly, with adequate annotation and indexing. The editors contribute an account of the second Mrs. Harney,



from whom Mrs. Black is descended, which makes an interesting addition to the existing biographies. Although they do not make particular claim to be experts on Chartism and radicalism, the editors have identified references with care and accuracy. The index is clear and useful. This is most certainly essential reading for any student of nineteenth-century radical and working class movements.

*Birmingham University*

DOROTHY THOMPSON

THE RELUCTANT IMPERIALISTS: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY 1878-1902.

By C. J. Lowe. ([New York:] Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xi, 417. \$7.95.)

BRITAIN AND JAPAN, 1858-1883. By Grace Fox. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xvii, 627. \$15.50.)

C. J. LOWE here presents the first of two volumes on British foreign policy from the Berlin to the Versailles treaties. His project is a task of synthesis and interpretation of published research in recently opened government and private papers. The book, intended for students, is avowedly patterned on Seton-Watson's interpretation of nineteenth-century British foreign policy, a model focused on *Britain in Europe*. For his period Lowe enlarges the focus to include Asia and Africa. But in that age of imperialism, the author suggests, British power was wielded in the main by reluctant imperialists, a theme that he might have developed explicitly and on a comparative basis.

As interpreter Lowe is intelligent and informed. His penetration of the debate of British parties on foreign policy eludes partisan snares. The Gladstonian espousal of nationalism, he observes, had a Christian inspiration which also gave British imperialism a missionary impulse. He considers it unprofitable "to analyse which of the two outlooks was most prone to humbug or to disguising its true motivation, since both possessed these characteristics to a marked degree." This is well put and fair for his time and subject. His observation that any foreign policy judgment is a mere preference of taste does not follow at all.

Thereafter, Lowe argues that for the early years of his subject, ideas made for differences over foreign policy and that the real division was not a party matter but between Gladstone and his opponents. The division, however, was mainly in debate and is little documented in foreign policy itself.

In contrasting Gladstone's Midlothian speeches with the foreign policy his administration later maintained, Lowe recognizes that the speeches were electorally conditioned. Gladstone later recognized "the expediency of maintaining as far as might be a continuity in Foreign Policy." In the succeeding years Liberal factionalism, German power on the Continent and the initiatives of Bismarck, difficulties with France, Turkey, and Russia, and the occupation of Egypt meant that the Liberal government's foreign policy was "indistinguishable from that of the Conservatives, except for the degree of incompetence in its direction under Granville." That difference vanished with Rosebery's appointment, so that later changes of government did not disrupt the continuity of Salisbury's policy.

Lowe makes his own contribution to the story of the partition of East Africa, 1885-1891. Through 1887 the "Egyptian lever," that is, the British occupation of Egypt, made Salisbury amenable to German colonial demands. Lowe, then, emphasizes Germany's diplomatic assets and Britain's weakness. He further argues that the validity of the Egyptianist thesis dwindles for the remaining years. Germany's position was less assured and British attention to East Africa strengthened and became asser-

tive. In this exposition Lowe draws on his monograph, *Salisbury and the Mediterranean* (1895).

To the text, 251 pages, is appended a brief bibliography of books and articles published, for the most part, in the last eighteen years. There follows an eight-page table of contents for 138 pages of excerpts from documents and especially from correspondence concerned with diplomacy. This collection is designed to illustrate British policy and the role of ideas and opinions in formulating it. As Lowe's text is enlivened by apt and striking quotations, the excerpts also make for good reading. They are, nevertheless, ill-equipped with editorial identifications and explanations. If space for this material imposed the minor proportions of the treatment of the last years of his period, I should have preferred a longer Lowe text with quotations.

Lowe's terminal point is the alliance with Japan. To Britain's role in the formative period (1858-1883) of modern Japan Grace Fox devotes a large volume. She has used a wide range of governmental, commercial, and private papers including archives in Britain, Japan and Washington. Three-fifths of the book presents a minute account of diplomacy and British influence on the Japanese navy. One-fifth covers British commercial, financial, and technological activities in Japan. Another fifth details British influence—including the work of missionaries, doctors, and journalists—on Japanese culture. The author presents her British-Japanese story not as a contribution to modernization theory but as something "unique in the history of international relations."

*University of Notre Dame*

M. A. FITZSIMONS

THE VICTORIAN CHURCH IN DECLINE: ARCHBISHOP TAIT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1868-1882. By P. T. Marsh. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1969. Pp. x, 344. \$8.95.)

P. T. MARSH has written a capable, analytical account of the way in which the Church of England was forced to give way in every sphere of life before the advancing secular State. He has focused on the years 1868-1882 when Archibald Campbell Tait was Archbishop of Canterbury, as "the last age in which bishops and the leaders of thought within the Church were figures of national importance. It marked the last serious attempt to make the Church of England the Church of the English."

Surely there is historical irony in the fact that an extremely able Archbishop should have expended his precarious physical strength trying to restore Hooker's concept of Church and State in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In a time of High Church catholicizing on one side and the rapidly secularizing State on the other, Tait endeavored to uphold the national rather than the Anglican Church. Disliking the restored Convocations as Anglican rather than national assemblies, Tait welcomed Parliament as the expression of lay opinion. Mr. Marsh has made good use of the Tait papers in this account of the Archbishop's valiant but futile attempt to keep the State religious and the Church national and established. The densely packed chapters on Church legislation in Parliament clearly show the significant shift in Parliamentary attitude over the years. In 1869 Irish disestablishment seemed to portend the end of English establishment as well. By 1882, the year of Tait's death, disestablishment was no longer a threat, but Parliament ignored the Church as much as possible. "Apparently England's way of becoming a secular society was not to break Church from State but rather to push Church affairs aside." For different reasons, the two political giants of the century had assisted this process, handling all Church legisla-

tion gingerly. Gladstone's personal High Churchmanship favored more autonomy for the Church in spiritual matters, while his political alliance with Nonconformists made him unsympathetic to Tait's desires. Disraeli could not afford to alienate any part of his Anglican supporters, so his policy toward potentially divisive ecclesiastical legislation was lukewarm at best.

The most important question for the Church should have been the erosion of faith in the face of a reductive scientific Darwinism and massive doses of Biblical criticism. Instead, the problem of unbelief served only to heighten theological controversy within the Church, further weakening its intellectual position. The controversy, which swallowed all others for so many of these years, was of course that over Ritualism, or, more correctly, ceremonialism. Tait's considerable capacity for legislation was expended in upholding the Protestantism of the national Church against this "aesthetic expression" of the Oxford Movement's second generation. It was of the utmost importance to this Scottish, Whiggish, very Protestant Archbishop to keep the Church congenial to the views of the majority of the English people for whom, as Marsh aptly phrases it, "Protestantism was less a religious conviction than an instinctive national sentiment." Hence he embarked on the ridiculous attempt to force conformity on the Ritualists through the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, the enactment of which marked the last year "in which for a whole session Parliament was preoccupied with the condition of the established Church." Tait's adherence to Thomas Arnold's comprehensive ideal of a national Church resulted only in bitter legal squabbling, Ritualist "martyrs," and a serious threat to the unity of the Church at a time when it needed all its forces.

*Westbrook, Connecticut*

OLIVE J. BROSE

MIND, HISTORY, AND DIALECTIC: THE PHILOSOPHY OF R. G. COLLINGWOOD. By *Louis O. Mink*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 276. \$10.00.)

ROBIN George Collingwood (1889-1943), who held the Waynflete Chair of Metaphysical Philosophy at Oxford from 1935 to 1941, is well known to historians, both for his studies of Roman Britain and for his *Idea of History*. Louis Mink's well-written and valuable book is a comprehensive philosophical treatment of Collingwood's thought and shows a thorough knowledge of the primary sources. Mink's approach is distinctive in two particulars: He sees Collingwood's books, beginning with the second one, *Speculum Mentis* (1924), as parts of a single "possible system"; and he contends that the essential character of this system is "dialectical."

Although Mink provides good detailed accounts of certain dialectical schemes which he finds in Collingwood, he does not provide a clear general idea of what dialectic is. The closest we get to such an idea is at second hand, in Mink's chapter devoted to Collingwood's *Essay on Philosophical Method* (1933).

After trying to establish the dialectical quality of Collingwood's whole philosophical work, Mink turns to the second part of his task: the explication of some of Collingwood's better-known doctrines from the standpoint of dialectic. Here we find the chapter that will be of particular interest to readers of this journal, Chapter VI, on history.

This chapter, which is substantially the same as an article Mink published in *History and Theory* (VII [No. 1, 1968], 3-37), takes up and tries to refute six objections that have been lodged against Collingwood's theory of history. Underlying

Mink's rebuttal is his claim that the substantive chapters of Collingwood's *Idea of History* are "largely unintelligible unless they are interpreted in the light of Collingwood's dialectical theory of mind as we have reconstructed it."

The six objections are disparate, and Mink's reply to them is, perforce, *ad hoc*. The chapter tends, then, to take on a rather scrappy, disjointed character. Moreover, Mink answers most of the six objections without any overt, or essential, appeal to the "dialectical theory of mind." In only one case, where Mink discusses what Collingwood called "[reflective] thought," does the dialectical approach appear to be necessary to a proper appreciation of Collingwood's position. One could certainly accept Mink's exegesis of Collingwood's notion of "thought," but I think a careful reading of the *Idea of History* is all that would be required in order to establish it. One does not, in other words, need a "dialectical theory" to unearth this particular interpretation of Collingwood. Mink's point about the unintelligibility of the *Idea of History* divorced from his "dialectical theory" does not stand up. I think, however, the chapter does repay careful reading; the last few pages, in particular, advance our understanding of Collingwood's conception of explanatory narratives in history.

University of Kansas

REX MARTIN

JOHN MORLEY AT THE INDIA OFFICE, 1905-1910. By *Stephen E. Koss*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 231. \$8.50.)

WE must, for a variety of reasons, welcome this study of Morley as Secretary of State for India by Stephen Koss. In its explanation of Morley's behavior, views, and political loyalties, it marks a considerable advance over other recently published interpretations such as Stanley Wolpert's *Morley and India, 1906-1910* or S. R. Wasti's *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement*. Much that has appeared paradoxical, or worse, in the behavior of the Liberal leader while at the India Office can be seen in perspective and more readily understood.

Especially valuable is the penetrating examination of Morley's career and the major strands in his intellectual development during the years before he accepted the Seals and moved to King Charles Street. In his analysis of the events, influences, and trends that shaped Morley's mind, Koss is at his best. He is therefore in a good position to examine Morley's policies and actions while he was Secretary of State and, in so doing, to disabuse the reader of myths and misconceptions that have been perpetuated in other studies. *Inter alia*, the author shows clearly the special limits upon late Victorian Liberalism, particularly when the political progress of non-white peoples was at issue, as well as the unique and personal version of Liberalism held by John Morley. Unfortunately, Morley's version was least in tune with the needs and vision of the Moderates who dominated the nationalist scene in India. Moreover, his feelings about the aptitudes of colored peoples so influenced his ideas concerning the transmission of European institutions as to seriously inhibit his work as a reformer of the political ties that bound Britain and India.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter which Koss has not investigated and in fact has barely touched upon—the relationships, long formed and institutionalized, between the Secretary of State for India and the complex and ponderous bureaucracy of that vast dependency, ridden with checks and balances, vested interests, and built-in short-circuits for anyone who tried to run the maze against the "rules." It is not enough to explore Morley's personality and philosophy, important though that is, as the explanation for his actions at the India Office. Nor is it sufficient to

analyze skillfully his relationships with Minto, the Governor-General, though Koss has handled those relationships with great sensitivity. One must also view the role of the Secretary of State as a part of a complex system with many sub-systems and special interrelationships. In this respect the portrait given in the volume is inadequate and, as a result, the explanations for Morley's actions are incomplete.

Similarly, the discussion of communalism is incomplete. Even though Morley may well have abhorred any line of policy that would exacerbate tensions between two different religious communities, his reforms aggravated those frictions, and brought about the divisions he deplored. Furthermore, certain aspects of his policy, such as the division of Moderates from Extremists, were part of a strategy of *divide et impera* consciously applied at certain levels of the bureaucracy over which Morley ruled. John Broomfield, in his very fine recent study, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society*, has clearly demonstrated how the exploitation of divisions in Bengali society was an inherent feature of the system by which the British managed their Indian dependency. This did not result from the whims or personalities of one or another individual, but rather was a feature of a system of government. It was that intricate system, of which the office of the Secretary of State was a part, that Koss has understated in an otherwise excellent and very stimulating historical study.

Syracuse University

ROBERT I. CRANE

NAVAL POLICY BETWEEN THE WARS. Volume I, THE PERIOD OF ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM, 1919-1929. By *Stephen Roskill*. (New York: Walker and Company. 1969. Pp. 638. \$15.00.)

COMPARED with the other services, the Royal Navy has enjoyed far more than its share of scholarly attention. The long run of Marder volumes has now almost enveloped the official Corbett and Newbolt series on the First World War, while Roskill's *The War at Sea* (1954-1961) has covered well the Second. Now with agreement between them, Captain Roskill picks up where Marder will leave off. The first of the two volumes carries the story to 1929, while the second will complete the link to the *War at Sea*. What we are getting is really official history since the author had privileged access to the materials which were for so long sheltered behind the fifty-year rule. And the story told is essentially that of the Admiralty. This is not to say that it is not well told nor to omit to mention that the book presents an interesting juxtaposition between British and American naval practice (and these, perhaps, helped increase the antagonism of the decade) which will certainly enlighten students. It is to say that the outlook is circumscribed, is, in cases involving the RAF, generally defensive of the Admiralty viewpoint, and in the case of Trenchard himself, is open to an accusation of misinterpretation of the CAS's view in the years 1918-1921. The problem seems to come from the fact that Roskill has relied to a very large extent on official files. The number of articles cited is small, and they are mostly recent. One must add in all fairness that the book must have gone to press in 1966 (it was published in 1968 in Britain), and this excuses the author from not mentioning some of the more recent literature. Even so, the bibliography is by no means a complete guide to non-official sources, omitting as it does books like Oscar Parkes's massive *British Battleships, 1860-1950* [c. 1960].

What we have, then, is a very detailed official history which gives a great many insights into the way in which policy-making was undertaken at the Admiralty in the twilight of the battleship heyday and at a time when the biggest bone of contention



between the British services was who should control aircraft. The book starts with an excellent introduction to the principal characters, which should be required reading for candidates in both modern British and twentieth-century US history, showing as it does that military history need not be dull. A minor but important point which is overlooked until page 390 is that Keyes was Trenchard's brother-in-law; this could be advanced as an argument in Keyes' behalf that he might have been able to achieve the release of the Fleet Air Arm from Air Ministry control if he had been made First Sea Lord in 1930, just when Trenchard was retired. Moreover, it can be suggested that the different successes achieved by British and American naval officers in controlling their own aviation may have had as much to do with national character, social structure, and political organs as with the antics of Billy Mitchell. Roskill is perfectly correct, of course, in suggesting that one of the main reasons for the different successes was the fact that the USN looked to the future while the RN refought the Battle of Jutland and tried to recover the air service it had relinquished in 1917-18.

Despite some of the caveats above, this is an excellent history which, like the same author's *The War at Sea*, will remain a basic work for many years to come. Even so, it should not discourage others from tackling the records now open to 1940, because technology, for one, is only touched upon incidentally—there is, for example, no reference to the role played by the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, whose relationship to the planners downstairs at the Admiralty well merits exploration.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

THE FRENCH NOBILITY IN CRISIS, 1560-1640. By *Davis Bitton*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 178. \$6.50.)

THE preface states that this book is about the "public image" of the French nobility, 1560-1640. There are chapters on antinoble sentiment, military service, public office, *dérogance*, virtue, and the general ambiguity of noble status. Treatises, memoirs, and some *cahiers* are mined for evidence to support the conclusion that the nobility was in crisis and decline.

The author has not been careful to stick to his announced subject. He wanders from "public image" to the problem of the social and economic conditions of the nobility. That there are connections between what contemporaries thought was happening to the nobility and what was actually happening to them because of changes in prices, venality of office, civil war, and the rise of armies, is beyond dispute. But it is too simple to infer, as the author does, that lamentations about the decline of the nobility are evidence for the decline itself.

The treatises and *cahiers* in particular might have been looked at as propaganda by the second estate for the defense of privilege at a time when war and revolt called into question virtually every French belief and institution. Certainly the nobility would not be expected to announce to the king in a *cahier* that all was well, knowing that the question of taxes would be on the agenda of any meeting of the Estates. On this confusion between conceptions of and conditions of a group, the author should at least have raised the possibility that the complaints and ambiguities which he describes might also have characterized the "public image" of a social group gaining in power and wealth after decimation in civil and international wars. Nor are the arguments for their loss of status, based on changes in the army, entirely convincing. The author gives no evidence to support his contention that "at times roturier officers became very numerous" in the French army.



The discussion of changes in noble status in the 1620's, chiefly as the result of the legislation known as the "code Michaud" of 1629, also raises as many questions as it answers. The *Testament Politique* is quoted as if it can be accepted as an accurate statement of Richelieu's aims and policies, and Chérin, *La Noblesse Considérée sous ses Divers Rapports* (Paris, 1788) rather than J. Petit, *Assemblée des Notables* (Paris, 1936) is relied upon for an understanding of how Marillac and Richelieu were able to press for modifications in the rule of *dérogance*. Had the author realized that the selection of the notables by the Cardinal had enabled him to press for this change, he would have understood more clearly why the "code Michaud" remained a dead letter, and why *dérogance* was even more strongly defended by the nobility in general than by those called together by Richelieu.

Finally, it is surprising to find that the first discussion of the distinctions between the nobleman and the gentleman occurs in this book with Loyseau. Was there no sixteenth-century precedent for such a distinction? If not, the author should have pointed this out. There might also have been some discussion of the relationship between peers and other *grands* with lesser noblemen, but the possibility of hierarchy or degrees of nobility and virtue seems to have been absent from the discussions of nobility before Loyseau, or thought by the author to be not germane to his subject. The book is well written and nicely produced, though the editor should not have been permitted to reproduce an engraving of a nobleman on the dust jacket that dates from about twenty years after 1640.

Johns Hopkins University

OREST RANUM

PARIS IN THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM: AN ESSAY. By *Orest Ranum*. [New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. ix, 316. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.95.)

THIS book is composed of four parts, of three chapters each. The first part, entitled "The Medieval Burden," begins with a description of the town about 1600, followed by an explanation of the administrative and political institutions and of the social structures of Paris in the last years of Henry III, until the "Barricades" of 1588; thereafter a chapter relates the story of Paris during the League, down to the entry of Henry IV into his capital in 1594.

The second part, "Foundations of Modernity," is devoted first to the absolutism and mercantilism of Henry IV in Paris, then to the new buildings ordered by the King and to the *hôtels* built by the royal courtiers or officers during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII, including those of Richelieu and his creatures.

In Part III, the author discusses "The Medieval Revival." He considers the religious revival among the Catholics; the new religious orders that settled in Paris, such as the Carmelites, the Visitation, and the Oratory; the beginnings of Port Royal and of Jansenism; and the work of Saint-Vincent de Paul. Chapter VIII describes the fighting nobility of the sword, the *gentilshommes*, their ideal of the hero, their *hôtels* and *salons*, their writers and artists, such as Corneille and Poussin. Chapter IX discusses the corporate structure of the Parisian population and its social stratification, until the middle of the century.

Part IV deals with "Urban Absolutism: The Flight From Modernity." Chapter X discusses the *Fronde* in Paris; Chapter XI treats the religious destinies of Paris, between about 1656 and 1669, the emphasis being put on *Tartuffe*. The last chapter

deals with Colbert's policy toward Paris, the actions of the *lieutenant de police* La Reynie, and some of the new buildings.

The author has carefully read the most important printed sources, such as the *Traité de la Police* by Delamare and the descriptions of Paris by Germain Brice, Jacques du Breul, and Sauval. He has also read or consulted many good historical works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some important works are not indicated in his bibliography, but the reader can see that the author knows and uses them. The preparatory work has been as good as an author, not himself a scholar in the field of Parisian history, could do.

Still, the book does not always satisfy the requirements of a good history of Paris in the seventeenth century. It concerns primarily the period before 1660; more than 240 pages are devoted to this period and only about 50 to the personal government of Louis XIV, from 1660 to 1715. The title is, therefore, somewhat optimistic. Does the author understand the corporative structures of Paris, the spirit of the Parisians? The second chapter, "An Explosive Political Climate," misses altogether the unity of Paris, and will mislead the reader. Is the author absolutely free from prejudice? To characterize as medieval revival the modern religious movements of the first half of the century is astonishing. The author does not find anything new in French political thinking of the century, but, when he discusses the *Fronde*, he does not say a word about the political thinkers of 1652, who suggested a complete reform of the state. And so on. This book is not as valuable as the author's earlier works; nevertheless, it contains useful facts and, being well written, is charming reading.

University of Paris

ROLAND MOUSNIER

SÉBASTIEN JOSEPH DU CAMBOUT DE PONTCHÂTEAU (1634-1690) ET SES MISSIONS À ROME, D'APRÈS SA CORRESPONDANCE ET DES DOCUMENTS INÉDITS. By *Bruno Neveu*. [École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, Supplements, Number 7.] (Paris: E. de Boccard. [1969.] Pp. xiv, 768.)

THE subject of this biography was a Jansenist (if one can still use that word) of the second generation and the second rank, who spent a fair part of his life wandering about trying to decide what to do and most of the rest of it as a recluse either at Port Royal or elsewhere. What makes Pontchâteau noteworthy among Jansenists was the fact that he came from a fairly important noble family (Richelieu was his second cousin, his sister married the Duc d'Epernon, his nephew was a cardinal) and that on two occasions, in 1677 and 1679-1680, he served in Rome as an influential representative of the religious opponents of the Jesuits and Louis XIV.

Half the book is made up of letters in French, Latin, and Italian to and from Pontchâteau, concerning religious affairs in the Low Countries, France, and Rome. Excerpts from many other letters are liberally spread throughout the text. What is valuable in both the text and the letters is the account of the years 1678-1681, which provides significant new information on the complex negotiations between Paris and Rome on the eve of the *Four Articles*. Also apparent are the efficiency of Louis XIV's information-gathering service, his determination to crush Port Royal, and the collapse of the hopes of the "Port Royalistes" in 1679 when most of their important supporters either died or were disgraced.

The most frustrating thing about the book is that the author knows that in Pontchâteau he has a means of getting into the mind and spirit of the nonconformists

of the Age of Louis XIV but refuses to make a serious effort to do so. Pontchâteau had the manners of a nobleman and the skill of a diplomat, but chose the life of a solitary. He had a command of three languages, wrote religious polemic, was something of an expert in book illustration, but above all preferred the life of a gardener. The man described by Quesnel as "notre saint sauvage" and by the French ambassador at Rome as the perfect "agent secret" deserves a better book.

University of Saskatchewan

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN

LE CARDINAL MAZARIN ET LE MOUVEMENT JANSÉNISTE FRANÇAIS, 1653-1659: D'APRÈS LES DOCUMENTS INÉDITS CONSERVÉS DANS LES ARCHIVES DU MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. By *P. Jansen*. [Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France.] (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1967. Pp. 274.)

PAULE Jansen, author of a book on the English reaction to Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* (1954), has made another original contribution to seventeenth-century religious history. Her present work illuminates, as no other study has, Mazarin's influence on the fate of the Jansenist movement in the 1650's.

Miss Jansen revises the traditional interpretation of why Mazarin nurtured the anti-Jansenist movement and forced the Gallican Church to endorse the papal bulls against Jansenism. This interpretation cites two reasons for his actions: that he believed the reports linking the Jansenists to the *Fronde*, and that he had to counter papal opposition to his imprisonment of Cardinal Retz. Miss Jansen contends that Mazarin was motivated by other, albeit related, concerns. His chief goal at the time, she argues, was to prevent a recurrence of the *Fronde*. Convinced that he could accomplish it only by bringing about a military victory for France abroad, he concentrated upon winning the current war against Spain. One major obstacle stood in his path: the diplomatic cooperation between the Holy See and his adversary Philip IV. To remove it, he decided to push the case against Jansenism to its dismal conclusion. This tactic succeeded. Mazarin's forcing of the Parlement of Paris to accept a new bull against the heresy pleased Pope Alexander VII, who then gave his support to France in the negotiations for peace with Spain. The Treaty of the Pyrenees was signed in November 1659, and Mazarin's position was secured.

Miss Jansen's argument is based on persuasive evidence. It consists of letters, hitherto unpublished and unanalyzed, exchanged between Mazarin and his representatives at Rome. Since she has appended fourteen of them, and will publish the entire collection in a forthcoming *thèse complémentaire*, no quarrel can be had with her sources. One must, however, question the emotional tone with which she presents her discoveries. Her bias in favor of the Jansenists is unconcealed, her bitterness towards Mazarin unrestrained. The expression of these sentiments leads one to conclude that Mazarin alone was guilty of the tragedy that befell the Jansenists. Indeed it is implied that, if he had not needed a pawn for his plot, they would have been spared further trouble. But this is a doubtful hypothesis. Jansenist pietism ran counter to the established religious mores of the seventeenth century, and had already met a theological opposition that was growing in strength. Regardless of what Miss Jansen calls Mazarin's "plan machiavélique," the sect would have succumbed to the drive for religious uniformity that marked the age. There was ample reason as well for an institutional opposition to Jansenism. The existence of an independent, privileged society, religious or otherwise, within the increasingly centralized state of mid-century

France, was already seen as a dangerous anomaly not to be tolerated. From the perspective of the French monarchy, then, the Jansenists were not as innocent as Jansen portrays them. Another aspect of the case, one which Jansen recognizes but does not sufficiently stress, needs further consideration. The Popes were playing a "Machiavellian" game, too. They wished to use the bulls against Jansenism to reconfirm their power to interfere in the affairs of a national church. If Mazarin had not been so obliging, it is quite possible that the Popes would have found other means to exercise their will. Hence Jansenism, in its seventeenth-century form, was doomed from the start, and Mazarin was by no means solely responsible for its fate.

Two more works will emerge from Miss Jansen's archival researches, one on the historical consequences of Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* and the other on Louis XIV and Jansenism. They will undoubtedly make an important contribution to seventeenth-century studies.

Berkeley, California

ELISABETH M. ISRAELS

UN CHANCELIER GALLICAN: DAGUESSEAU ET UN CARDINAL DIPLOMATE: FRANÇOIS JOACHIM DE PIERRE DE BERNIS. By *Georges Frêche* and *Jean Sudreau*. Preface by *Jean Imbert*. [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Sciences historiques," Number 15.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1969. Pp. vii, 150. 16 fr.)

THIS book is composed of two *Mémoires* written to fulfill the requirements for the *Diplômes d'Études Supérieures de Science Politique* in the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences at Paris. Each author examined the political writings of an individual who was not a political philosopher, but a man actively engaged in the affairs of state. Daguesseau (1668-1751) was a *Procureur général* in the Parlement of Paris as well as *Chancelier de France* and *Garde des Sceaux*. Bernis (1715-1794) was a diplomat and *Secrétaire d'État* under Louis XV.

Georges Frêche's essay is a persuasive discussion of Daguesseau's place in the Gallican tradition. Like Bossuet, Daguesseau opposed any attempt of the Papacy to interfere in the politics of the state. But unlike Bossuet, who was inclined to defend the Church against royal authority, Daguesseau reasoned and acted on the assumption that the civil authority could, within precise limits, intervene in ecclesiastical affairs.

Many of the issues that concerned Daguesseau were no longer alive a century after his death. Yet his Gallicanism remains of interest to historians of the nineteenth century because its strong dose of patriotism makes it an important link in the evolution of French nationalism.

Jean Sudreau's study of Bernis' ideas is intelligent and rewarding. Bernis shared with many fellow nobles the illusion that his class had the capacity for political leadership. Yet he saw with paralyzing clarity the mediocrity and decadence of those who governed under Louis XV.

Bernis also saw that France needed peace to restore to health the state's finances and to gain time to reform the government. Unfortunately, Bernis lived in a society intoxicated with a heroic and sentimental conception of war and prestige. Never able to reconcile the contradictions between his illusions and the world he saw before him, and equally unable to conceive of a different social order, Bernis represented the severe limitations of French aristocratic thought of the eighteenth century.

Buffalo, New York

ORVILLE T. MURPHY

L'ENCYCLOPÉDISME DANS LE BAS-LANGUEDOC AU XVIII<sup>me</sup> SIÈCLE.

By *Jacques Proust*. [Centre d'Études du XVIII<sup>me</sup> Siècle and Centre d'Études Occitanes.] ([Montpellier:] Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Montpellier. 1968. Pp. 243.)

LES IDÉES POLITIQUES DE J. L. DE LOLME (1741-1806). By *Jean-Pierre*

*Machelon*. Preface by *Jean Imbert*. [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Science politique," Number 15.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1969. Pp. vii, 132. 16 fr.)

THE contrasting nature of these two straightforward, adequately documented monographs on aspects of the Enlightenment may be explained in part by the circumstances of authorship. The first, by an established authority on the great *Encyclopédie*, is a by-product of broader studies; its tone is urbane and its claims modest. The second, a dissertation by a candidate for the *Diplôme d'Études Supérieures* in political science at Paris, is, even with its occasional appropriate disclaimers, far more assertive and ultimately less successful. But the differences go deeper, and by no means favor Proust's work exclusively. With almost geometrical exactitude (as the Encyclopedists might have put it) these works exemplify the respective merits and limitations of two divergent approaches to intellectual history.

Proust's study, as an intellectual and sociological examination of nineteen Encyclopedists associated with Bas-Languedoc, may strike one as a rather redundant exercise in regional piety. The articles contributed by Bas-Languedociens (five of them reprinted here to form over half of the book) avoid the great reformist issues in political, religious, and philosophical thought, and concentrate on such relatively noncontroversial areas as medicine, science, and technology; the student of revolutionary origins will find little of direct interest here. At the same time, the book usefully re-emphasizes the peculiarly pragmatic orientation of the *Encyclopédie* as well as its geographically widespread authorship, and becomes a valuable case study (almost always supporting the conclusions of Proust's earlier writings) relevant to the intellectual orientation, the sociological background, and the international connections of the Encyclopedists in general.

In contrast to Proust's microsociology, Machelon's study is of an individual author, the Genevan Jean Louis de Lolme, and primarily of the content and significance of one volume, his *Constitution de l'Angleterre* of 1771. Though Machelon's subject is of significantly greater historical importance than any one of Proust's nineteen, De Lolme becomes the object of a somewhat belligerent attempt at individual rehabilitation that may well appear only partially justified. Certainly Machelon now fills a historiographical gap, for recent scholarly neglect of De Lolme has been virtually total. There remains, however, the question of whether his resuscitation may not be accompanied by rather extravagant claims for his originality, notably in comparison with Montesquieu, much of whose moderate liberalism and idealization of the English constitution De Lolme echoed and expanded. At the same time, Machelon has done well to remind us of De Lolme's contemporary popularity, and to illuminate a hitherto obscure route toward one area of French revolutionary thought.

*Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

HENRY S. VYVERBERG

MARSEILLE, VILLE MORTE: LA PESTE DE 1720. By *Ch. Carrière et al.* (Marseille: M. Garçon. [1968.] Pp. 352. 16.50 fr.)

THIS attractively presented book describes the disastrous bubonic plague that desolated Marseilles in the summer of 1720. After a comprehensive account of the city before the onset of the epidemic, some hundred pages are devoted to the climax in July, August, and September, the decline, and the sequels in 1721. There follows an analysis of problems raised by the whole tragic episode, problems of concern to municipal authorities as well as to modern historians: what were the origins and means of transmission of the infection; what was the responsibility of the captain of the *Grand Saint-Antoine*, its owners, and the officials in charge of quarantine and sanitation? How was the city to be fed, and how were the narrow streets to be cleaned and made fit for use?

This dramatic account of the epidemic is followed by an analysis of the symptoms perceptible in individuals and a description of the state of houses and streets—one notices the absence of rats—and of the part played by citizens, first in carrying infection out of quarantine, and later in overcoming its effects or concealing them from outsiders. The book ends with a discussion of the economic and demographic impact on the city and region, and of its rapid recovery from what had been an extremely severe setback.

This study reveals the strengths and weaknesses of eighteenth-century civilization. The vitality with which commerce was maintained through the worst months; the charitable vigor with which the sick were cared for; the inhuman violence resulting from attempts to escape from quarantine; and the lax sanctions applied to the moral and criminal offenders who sought personal gain at the expense of their compatriots: all these appear to be as typical of the Age of the Enlightenment as of any era. It is at least odd that Voltaire should have put no mention of this extremely human event in his *Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.*

Finishing the book, one realizes it has only one footnote, no precise references to its numerous contemporary sources, and no index. These may be excusable faults in a book so lively and well-organized, which, with its several maps and its bibliography, has the value of history and the impact of literature.

Brown University

HARCOURT BROWN

LAFAYETTE IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THROUGH THE OCTOBER DAYS. By *Louis Gottschalk* and *Margaret Maddox*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 414. \$15.00.)

THIS is the fifth volume in Professor Gottschalk's series on the Marquis de Lafayette; the fourth was *Lafayette Between the American and the French Revolution* (*AHR*, LV [July 1950] 892). Since then the author has been busy with other activities, including the presidency of the American Historical Association in 1953, long service with the Social Science Research Council, from which came his *Generalization in the Writing of History*, and participation in the UNESCO world history, of which he is the author of the fourth volume. In these circumstances much of the work on Lafayette, since 1950, has been done by his research associate and collaborator, Dr. Margaret Maddox.

Lafayette's career extended well over half a century, and it is now forty years since Gottschalk committed himself to the preparation of this definitive work. The



present book deals only with the nine months of 1789 through the *journées* of October. It is therefore very detailed, strictly chronological, and based on a minute examination of all discoverable evidence, much of it in print, some of it in manuscript sources that have been searched for and collected over many years. Since everything knowable about Lafayette is to be told, there is no great problem of selection. The method is highly traditional but exactly appropriate to the purpose; it consists of a critical weighing of eye-witness testimonies, hearsay evidence, polemical allegations, and the recollections of persons, including Lafayette himself, who wrote memoirs many years later. To all this the two authors bring their vast knowledge of the journalism, pamphleteering, and parliamentary debates that grew up so rapidly in 1789. The microscopic treatment is justified by the importance of the events in which Lafayette played an important role.

In the forty years since the series was first projected there have been great changes in academic historiography, especially where the French Revolution is concerned. The present book, therefore, in a way lies outside the mainstream of current discussion. Few American historians have done as much as Gottschalk for the grand problems of historical generalization and the relation of history to the social sciences. Yet the present book is essentially a day-to-day narrative, in which the writing of a letter becomes an event, and the sending of it, or means of its delivery, can raise a problem. Recently the main interest has fallen on handfuls of extremists, or on lower-class and anonymous people, or on the analysis of social groups as a whole. Yet here we have the blow-by-blow experience of an upper-class Revolutionary leader, and a moderate.

The book is welcome and valuable precisely because of these qualities. Thanks to the narrative detail we are made to sense the predicament of an enlightened, liberal, wealthy, high-born, and famous young man under revolutionary conditions. We see the zealous reformer contending with the aroused populace, the Orleanist intriguers and the reactionary elements in the court party; the moderate who, as commandant of the new Paris National Guard, tried to prevent further violence after the insurrection that destroyed the Bastille; the idealist who, loaded with responsibilities, had to take action when the horde of angry women streamed out from Paris to demonstrate at Versailles. The authors conclude that Lafayette was honorable throughout, sometimes over-confident but not so fatuous as enemies later represented him, and on the whole surprisingly successful; there would have been more violence and bloodshed had he not been so tireless, prompt, and decisive. Lafayette emerged from the October Days with enhanced prestige. It is to be hoped that the authors will be able to treat him on the same scale at least until 1792, when the combination of royal obstinacy and revolutionary radicalism forced him to abandon the Revolution.

*Yale University*

R. R. PALMER

FORTUNES ET GROUPES SOCIAUX À TOULOUSE SOUS LA RÉVOLUTION (1789-1799): ESSAI D'HISTOIRE STATISTIQUE. By *Jean Sentou*. [Bibliothèque Méridionale, published under the auspices of the Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse. Second Series, Number 43.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1969. Pp. 496. 62 fr.)

For the history of property ownership, the records of *enregistrement* have great potentialities suggested as long ago as 1946 in an article by Pierre de Saint Jacob. At the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Rome in 1955, Ernest Labrousse advocated the construction of a census of occupations, each characterized

by the typical amount of a practitioner's property and all placed in a single structure of classes. This book, based on the first extensive use of *enregistrement* records for the eighteenth century, closely follows the Labrousse line of thought. It establishes the minimum, average, and maximum amounts and the characteristic forms of wealth possessed by individuals within each occupational category.

The most important mass of evidence comes from 1,102 declarations of successions with net worth greater than zero. In them, the heirs evaluated in detail the property of 1,020 decedents in specified occupations and 82 decedents classed by Sentou as simply noble proprietors. The successions represent the wealthiest 5 per cent or so of all the residents of Toulouse who died in the years 1791-1799. The other mass of evidence comes from 4,118 summaries of marriage contracts, representing an undetermined proportion (probably near 90 per cent) of the marriages formed in those years.

Sentou's admirable perserverance has made available a tremendous store of information about property ownership in the capital of Languedoc. His use of source material and statistical techniques is generally innovative and highly praiseworthy. These merits deserve recognition, but do not require lengthy discussion. Sentou's conclusions, however, need to be modified in four respects.

First, the two types of evidence pertain to different age-cohorts, and no attempt is made to examine the earlier economic position of the old men and women who died, or the later economic position of the young ones who married during the revolutionary years; therefore, no differences are established between occupations in the actual remuneration during a whole career. Second, the total amount of wealth discovered in the successions depends on the death rate. If one group in the population experienced an unusually high death rate, its wealth will be correspondingly overstated. In fact, of the 93 presidents and councillors in office in the Parlement of Toulouse at the time of its abolition, 57 per cent were guillotined in 1794. Sentou mentions this event but does not correct his economic data for the exaggerated death rate of the *parlementaires*. If one-third of them had died in the decade, as would have been more normal, then the total wealth inherited would have been considerably smaller; the share belonging to the *parlementaires* would have been approximately 32 per cent, not the 44 per cent that Sentou calculates; and the share of each other group would have been slightly larger (for example, the *négociants* would have had almost 11 per cent instead of 9 per cent of the total).

Third, the distribution of wealth between the *ci-devant* nobility and the bourgeoisie is obscured by Sentou's classification procedures. His census categories are a mixture of pre- and post-revolutionary occupational classifications. On these are superimposed the old status classes: nobility, bourgeoisie, populace. And individual decedent is first classified by his occupation. Then he is classed as noble or commoner according to whether, under the *ancien régime*, his occupation would have presupposed or ultimately conferred noble status. Only the 117 landed proprietors are classed individually as noble or bourgeois; for the other 985 decedents, personal status before 1790 is systematically disregarded. One of these 985, for instance, was Derrey de Belbèze, the mayor in 1793, whose father had been a *capitoul* in 1754 and who was therefore legally as ennobled as some members of the Parlement; yet Sentou refers to him as an example of the "bourgeoisie girondine."

Finally, having confirmed much of George V. Taylor's discussion in "Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution" (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 469-96), Sentou nevertheless attempts to defend the doctrine of a bourgeois revolu-

tion. He denies Taylor's statement that most of the nobility and the proprietary sector of the middle classes were economically a single group, and asserts that the nobility was much wealthier and displayed a spectacularly different style of life. Here Sentou is on uncertain ground because he has not carefully identified all the nobles in his sample. Sentou asserts, also, that under Louis XVI the "noble reaction" created a new state of affairs in which it was nearly impossible for a bourgeois to enter a noble occupation. Such an assertion has become common in historical writing since about 1950 without ever being supported by evidence derived from rates of occupational mobility in the late eighteenth century as compared with the preceding decades. It is merely repeated by Sentou, again without persuasive evidence. And, as Sentou's findings on property ownership do not seem to account for the bourgeois antagonism toward nobles, it may be that he has related his massive data to an inappropriate problem.

Stanford University

PHILIP DAWSON

ENGLISH HISTORIANS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Hedva Ben-Israel*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 312. \$11.50.)

"It needs to be shown that the English historians of the French Revolution in the nineteenth century can legitimately be grouped together to form a school and to be studied as a connected group of writings." If this first sentence of her preface states the author's purpose, then it must be said that she does not succeed. Unless she uses the word in some unusual sense, her book demonstrates rather that there was no nineteenth-century "school" of English historians of the Revolution. Neither were there smaller, period "schools," though historians before about 1830 might be grouped according to some similarities of views. Yet writers for the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* did not disagree so sharply over the nature of the Revolution and its living influence in European history as stereotypical opinions of these publications might be ready to assume. Historians during the century produced "a connected group of writings," but the connections hardly made a "school" or schools.

For the rest of it, Miss Ben-Israel discusses usefully and chronologically the nineteenth-century English historians of the Revolution. For some of them, the study and writing of history was only an avocation. Not until the 1830's did their study of the Revolution separate itself from politics. Gradually the quality of their work improved. Carlyle and John Wilson Croker made notable advances. Strangely, after archival research became possible, English historians of the Revolution did not practice it. H. Morse Stephens, whose first volume (1886) was the "first really detailed and accurate narrative of the Revolution to the end of 1793," revealed professionalism, but "his real merit was the summary of the new research of others." Lord Acton, the last historian discussed in this book, also derived his learning from the research of others. Though Stephens and Acton kept up with printed literature, neither they nor the other English historians of the Revolution went to the sources as did some of their continental counterparts or like English contemporaries who were writing English history.

The book gathers together information about a sequence of historians concerned with a particular subject throughout a century and attempts to impose unity upon it. Much of the writing, Croker's for example, appeared as essays or reviews, and the book emphasizes the importance of publications like the *Edinburgh* or the *Quarterly* as outlets and as sources. The first third of the book has unity; the last two-thirds is a group of essays, the most notable being those on Carlyle, Croker, and Acton. Croker is

treated with great respect. A certain irony emerges from the book. The Revolution was recognized in England as a signal event in modern history, and it retained immediacy, although it inspired no great English work except possibly Carlyle's.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

JAKOB IGNAZ HITTORFF: EIN PARISER BAUMEISTER, 1792-1867. By *Karl Hammer*. [Pariser historische Studien, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1968. Pp. 386. DM 85.)

THIS is a long and compendious study. The vast deposit of Hittorff papers in Cologne, catalogued in 1956 by Erich Schild, and others elsewhere, has been carefully sifted. Dates have been established precisely and many new facts adduced. Everyone interested in French architecture of the nineteenth century will be immensely grateful for this book. But it is not a success—it is uncritical and lacking in focus—nor is it cheap. Even the language, in the opinion of Mrs. Richard Chafee, who translated it for the present reviewer, is cumbersome and unwieldy.

Though a whole chapter is devoted to the formulation and the subsequent defence of Hittorff's theory of polychrome decoration in Greek architecture, the episode is revealed with no more insight than Hittorff himself brought to bear in the *Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Selinonte ou l'Architecture Polychrome chez les Grecs* of 1851. No mention is made of the fact that Hittorff met T. L. Donaldson in Rome in 1823. Donaldson was a friend of those young English architects and scholars—William Kinnaid, Joseph Woods, C. R. Cockerell, and Charles Barry—all of whom had toured recently in Greece and had noticed traces of color on Greek temples. In 1820 Donaldson had written an essay in which he had outlined a system of fairly extensive color decoration in Greek architecture. His proposals were an obvious challenge to Hittorff, who set off for Sicily in 1823 determined to make an archaeological discovery for himself. In Palermo he met Samuel Angell, who was then transshipping metopes from Selinus. The subsequent dash to Agrigento and Selinus and an undignified skirmish with Leo von Klenze for the polychrome honors is well documented. But a certain understanding is lacking in the account of the battle between Hittorff and Letronne and Raoul-Rochette. Hittorff's real achievement lay not in his archaeological observations, but in his demonstration that the classical ideal could be reassessed—and reassessed in a fundamental way. He prepared the way for a group of more rigorous reformers, Henri Labrousse, Felix Duban, Louis Duc, and even Viollet-le-Duc.

Mr. Hammer provides no list of Hittorff's buildings; many are ignored or overlooked. Others are passed off with the remark that Hittorff designed several town and country houses. His contribution to the architectural backgrounds of Ingres' paintings is not discussed. Hittorff's published report on the catalogue of the Sir John Soane Museum is omitted from the bibliography, as are A. E. Richardson's and Osbert Lancaster's articles on Hittorff in the *Architectural Review* (1914 and 1939). Such omissions are odd, for Hammer has been at great pains to record for the first time a number of early works and projects. And the detailed history of Hittorff's major commissions, the Place de la Concorde, St-Vincent-de-Paul and the Gare du Nord, is admirably itemized, though no mention is made of the engineer of the Gare du Nord, F. L. Reynaud. Hammer's failing is that he uses no discrimination in discussing Hittorff's architecture and is apparently unconcerned to place him in any sort of context (unless it be a social setting, for Hammer is clearly fascinated by Hittorff's

facility for making friends in high places). Hittorff, it would seem, worked in a vacuum, uninfluenced by the discoveries and activities of his contemporaries—an interpretation that anyone familiar with Hittorff's architecture will regard as particularly inappropriate.

*London, England*

ROBIN MIDDLETON

CHARLES PARQUIN: NAPOLEON'S ARMY. Translated and edited by B. T. Jones. [Military Memoirs.] ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 200. \$8.25.)

THIS volume is a new English edition of the memoirs of Denis-Charles Parquin, a cavalry officer who served in eight campaigns with Napoleon's armies. Written some thirty years after the events, this work is devoted to Parquin's rise from private in the Twentieth Chasseurs to captain of the Guard in 1813. Although present at such crucial battles as Jena, Eylau, Wagram, Salamanca, Leipzig, and Waterloo, Parquin's primary contribution is his insights into the personal attitudes and activities of the French soldier on campaign.

Arrogant, chauvinistic, and convinced of the righteousness of his cause, Parquin represents the sentiments of the French legions who served Napoleon. Optimistic about the future, intensely loyal, anti-British, honorable to friend and foe alike, it is obvious that beneath his veneer of bravado, Parquin was a compassionate warrior. Moreover, the highly colorful accounts of life as a chasseur, supplemented by his amorous adventures, presents a firsthand view of the enlisted men in the Imperial army. Indeed, as a soldier with limited ability and education, Parquin, although a participant, little understood the significance of a maneuver or battle; but his grasp of minute details adds a new dimension to any event he described. For example, although he incorrectly believed the French had been defeated at Jena, his memoirs give an excellent account of the French chasseurs as they sat in formation at Jena awaiting orders to attack. Parquin's discriminatory powers are often questionable when his superiors were involved, his conversations, recalled thirty years later, are suspect, and the implication that promotions were dependent upon a *tête-à-tête* with the Emperor is doubtful; yet there is a valuable quality in his memoirs which humanizes the Imperial soldier.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Jones did not include a more useful table of contents, title headings for the various chapters, and additional commentary corroborating or contesting statements in the text. It is also to be regretted that Parquin's entire memoir was not included in this edition. Nevertheless, Mr. Jones' English translation is excellent, superseding the English edition of 1893 in both style and readability. For anyone interested in the life of a soldier in the Imperial army, this work will be indispensable. The publisher is to be commended for issuing this and other significant but unavailable military memoirs.

*Florida State University*

DONALD D. HORWARD

THE CHURCH AS ENEMY: ANTICLERICALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE. By Joseph N. Moody. (Washington, D. C.: Corpus Books. 1968. Pp. viii, 305. \$10.00.)

AUGUSTE Comte may have been wrong in suggesting that consciousness has progressed through theological, metaphysical, and positive stages. He was certainly cor-

rect, however, in identifying these three phases as intrinsic to the formation of the French spirit. The tension between believer and non-believer in French history ideally represents the struggle for identity that every Frenchman must wage between his own temptations to be theologian, metaphysician, or positivist. The private and public character of this conflict has determined much of France's intellectual and social history. Yet we do not have nearly enough studies that illuminate this strife and its function in shaping the French historical experience. Professor Moody's delightful study lucidly furthers our historical and psychological understanding of the anticleric, the priest *manqué*, and of the Church and its most elegant and effective critics.

He follows the continuity of the quarrel from the initial and fundamental statements of Stendhal and Balzac through the Romantic agony of those such as de Vigny and Musset, the involvement of the historians Michelet, Renan, and Taine, the enlistment of Flaubert and Maupassant, the total war by Zola, and the ironic denouement offered by Anatole France. Moody carefully locates his *militants* in the historical and social framework of their generations. He proposes that as the century progressed the authenticity of the combat between the Church and its opponents became increasingly less genuine. He insists that Zola's performance as an artist was badly compromised by his subsequent efforts as anticlerical propagandist and prophet at a time when, despite its reactionaries, the Church was making an effort to understand modernity.

Moody believes that anticlericalism supported a myth that was necessary to polarize competing views of the human situation, society, and the French nation. His sensitivity to the psychological and sociological realities at play in the lives and work of those he studies reveals that cleric and anticleric were indeed wedded to one another. They could not have lived without the occasions for dread, fear, hope, and love that they provided for each other. Their lives were truly joined together, and the secrets of that consuming passion, at times dominated by problems of sexuality, are admirably suggested in this intriguing book.

We may hope that Moody will follow his study of the nineteenth century with one devoted to the twentieth. Henry de Montherlant's recent *Les Garçons*, whose hero is the Abbé de Pradts, the "*prêtre-athée*," offers further evidence that the priest remains for the serious French novelist the mysterious member of our race. Historians are beginning to present with greater concreteness the magistrate, the soldier, the bourgeois, the worker, and the teacher in modern France. Moody's lively study invites us to comprehend more precisely the priest and his society in the history of France.

University of Wisconsin

EDWARD T. GARGAN

BORDEAUX AU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. Under the direction of *Louis Desgraves* and *Georges Dupeux*. With the collaboration of *R. Darricau et al.* [Histoire de Bordeaux, Volume VI.] (Bordeaux: [Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest.] 1969. Pp. 580.)

A HISTORY of the city, to be successful, must provide the reader with both verbal and pictorial guides that take him along the streets, across the parks and public squares, and display the neighborhoods in their distinctive styles. Such a tour is a necessary introduction to the profound and abiding historical forces that characterize a city. Unfortunately, the present volume of the series *Histoire de Bordeaux* does not accomplish this task. There are only two maps, neither of which is legible. Without



several maps of nineteenth-century Bordeaux, about a third of the text of this volume is nearly meaningless, mere words that convey no image. This is a tragedy because M. Louis Desgraves, director of the municipal library, knows his city well.

Certainly Bordeaux had a life style of its own, and the chapters dealing with its political, economic, social, and cultural history bring it to the surface. As part of a series clearly destined for the educated reading public, this volume is useful; several sections of it will enlighten even the experts in urban history. It combines traditional methods with some of the newer quantitative techniques. Specialists in urban history will appreciate, particularly, the chapters of Professor Georges Dupeux, and, in general, those of the second half of the nineteenth century, that is, from the Second Empire to the eve of World War I. They are the product of a more consistent effort to answer the questions asked by recent historical scholarship. The earlier chapters represent a more traditional approach and leave unanswered some pertinent questions. To mention only two: What was the role and size of the Protestant population, and was its influence in politics the result of its numerical strength (hardly likely), or of the social standing of its leaders? And why was there such a deep conservatism in a city with far-flung interests? Despite these weaknesses, the social structure does emerge clearly, as does the functional role of large wholesale merchants, especially those in the wine trade, who made up the cream of the urban aristocracy. There was a conservatism with a capital "C." This latter phenomenon is well brought out, and attention is devoted to its role as a retardant of modernization. Perhaps more attention could have been given to the intimate relation between political and economic conservatism. Possibly in this relation can be found a better explanation as to why the city failed to modernize and sufficiently expand its port facilities. On the other hand, there is adequate emphasis on the fact that resistance to modernization was not limited to the business community; it cut down to the workers, especially the dockers, who also feared the loss of their age-old privileges.

This resistance to change was possibly related to religion: Bordeaux must have been the only city where a Protestant could run as a legitimist in 1849! The chapters on religion, however, are not much concerned with religion as a political force. They are organized, rather, around the archbishops' activities and Church organization. Styles and aims of episcopal rule varied with the incumbents, some of whom were able and keenly concerned with social problems. Their solution to the latter was based on Le Play's philosophy. It would be interesting to know whether paternalism, in the Church as in the business community, was at least partly responsible for the hesitant entrepreneurship of the city rulers. Religion as an organized activity to save souls, teach ethics, and educate the young is quite well described; as a general force influencing men in their everyday lives it is less so.

The chapter devoted to everyday life after 1870, however, is first-rate social history. Many of the descriptions and analyses are highly useful for understanding political developments. This is the part of the book in which the reader truly begins to feel himself inside Bordeaux, begins to see and sense the city. The volume would have been greatly improved if there were more coordination between the chapters describing the city and this one describing its people. The former seem depopulated and the latter without sufficient physical environment.

On the whole, however, the weaknesses of the volume do not prevent it from being a significant contribution to our knowledge of French urban history.

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LEO A. LOUBÈRE

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC UNDER CAVAIGNAC, 1848. By *Frederick A. de Luna*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 451. \$13.50.)  
 ASPECTS DE LA VIE POLITIQUE ET MILITAIRE EN FRANCE AU MILIEU DU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE À TRAVERS LA CORRESPONDANCE REÇUE PAR LE MARÉCHAL PELISSIER (1828-1864): DOCUMENTS. Published by *Pierre Guiral* and *Raoul Brunon*. [Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine. Notices, inventaires et documents, Number 25.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1968. Pp. 355.)

As the title of his monograph suggests, Frederick de Luna, instead of concentrating his attention on Cavaignac, the Republican general who became head of state in 1848, chose to give priority to Cavaignac's party and the program of his government. The necessary biographical details about Cavaignac's military career in Africa and his Republican affiliations are presented with sympathy and discernment, but they come after, not before, a chapter on the early years of the Republican party. Likewise, the critical events of the bloody June Days that made Cavaignac the "savior" of society and head of state are accorded less space than the events from February to June in which Cavaignac, for the most part, played a secondary role. Finally, over half the book is devoted to the programs advanced and legislation discussed in the five months of the Cavaignac government that extended from the June Days to the election of Louis Napoleon in December.

It is clear that De Luna thinks he has a thesis to put forward and that while the thesis has much to do with the government of Cavaignac, it has less to do with the man than with the program of a party. Put simply, De Luna argues that historians, especially recent historians, have tended to identify with the first months of the revolution when there were hopes of a social republic and to see the June Days as a social revolution that led Cavaignac and the frightened moderates into a program of conservative reaction. The betrayal was all the greater because, if each event after the February days (including the elections of April) represented a move away from social democracy, it has been assumed that the National Assembly elected in April had at least a majority of moderate Republicans.

De Luna starts his revisionist thesis with an analysis of the April elections. By distinguishing *républicains de la veille* (those who can truly be identified as Republicans before the February days) from *républicains du lendemain*, he demonstrates that the "Republican" majority in the Assembly was actually a minority. Thus, what reaction occurred after the June Days was no betrayal. More important, he provides detailed evidence that in the subsequent months the *républicains de la veille*, including Cavaignac, remained loyal to the democratic traditions of the party and, further, that as "moderates" they had a coherent economic and social doctrine that they tried hard to incorporate into acts of legislation. All of the men in Cavaignac's first ministry were *républicains de la veille*, and if one must swallow some evidence of willingness to clamp down on the clubs and the press or to purge a Louis Blanc, the record of achievement was a substantial one. For every battle lost on causes such as free, compulsory, and lay education, there were victories won, including some measures designed to aid the workers. If Cavaignac was a poor politician and his shortcomings are duly noted, De Luna has succeeded in placing his role and the months of his government in a new perspective.

One of the virtues of De Luna's study is that it introduces the reader to a great deal

of recent research on the events of 1848, some of which is not readily available; its weakness lies in too much space allotted to topics adequately treated elsewhere at the expense of Cavaignac and the inner workings of the Republican party in action. Cavaignac was a reticent man and the revealing letters to his mother ended when he moved to Paris, but an opportunity was missed to provide greater depth to the study of how his military background in Africa and his personal associations affected each step of his role as a general caught up in the unfamiliar atmosphere of a major political and social crisis.

The second book under review, if it has much to do with army officers and 1848, is a disappointment. Because of the meticulous work of the editors, the footnotes provide a wealth of biographical data about scores of officers, particularly "Africans"; the letters, however, apart from the fact that all were addressed to Marshal Pelissier and most are concentrated in the years 1848-1852, are too disparate in origin and subject matter to cover any one topic well. If the editors have consciously sought to select those letters which show how army officers reacted to the Revolution and the *coup d'état*—and some are very revealing—specialists on the period will be driven back to the original collection, and nonspecialists will have to struggle through a lot of chaff to find the wheat.

University of Michigan

JOHN BOWDITCH

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON. By *Alan Ritter*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 222. \$6.75.)

Mr. Ritter has wrestled mightily and impressively with the political theory of one of the most difficult, underestimated, but certainly not neglected thinkers of the last century. He has set himself the task of dealing with the apparent inconsistencies and contradictions of Proudhon's political ideas, not in the spirit of earlier interpreters who have either claimed him as an authority for their favorite ideological positions, whether of the Left or the Right, or such other writers who lacked the patience to sort out his interminable revisions and re-evaluations, not only from one work to another, but within the covers of the same book. Instead Ritter, in a close analysis of what he has termed Proudhon's most systematic writings, has taken account, with intellectual rigor and fairness, of that mood of self-criticism and moral commitment with which Proudhon sought the means to transform society in the interests of his highest ideal—respect, by which he meant consideration of other people as moral beings, identifying with them, and accepting their purposes and choices.

Since Proudhon's major concerns were not unlike those of his more immediate and greater predecessors as well as some of his contemporaries, Ritter had perforce to spend some time in an analysis of such thinkers as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Godwin, Hegel, Tocqueville, and Marx. He has also dipped more briefly into the thinking of Proudhon's successors, notably G. D. H. Cole, but he has passed over Tolstoy with a few words and does not mention Kropotkin nor any of the syndicalists. Since his treatment is exponential rather than historical, this cannot be a major criticism, though it is odd that he should have singled out some thinkers and neglected others. What is admirable about his study is the way he brings to our awareness how Proudhon, while indebted to past thought, was able to pursue questions to which the others in his view had given inadequate answers or had allowed themselves to suggest solutions which negated their own assumptions. For Ritter, Proudhon's understanding of historical development, coercion, stability, and law, though often marred by faulty logic and false

by the test of experience, was as important an ingredient of his outlook as his passionate espousal of his moral ideals, so much so that with one exception he could never bring himself to counsel means that would betray his elaborate intellectual edifice and his goals. His momentary embrace of Napoleon III was, as Ritter explains, due to his defects as a political strategist. At the same time, while Ritter does not gloss over Proudhon's intellectual shortcomings, these he convincingly shows are dwarfed by his perceptions, which have been rarely grasped in traditional discussions of Proudhon's assessments of mutualism, federalism, pluralism, libertarianism, law, family love, and self-direction. In a concluding chapter, Ritter substitutes autonomy for respect as the goal of libertarian reformers in the hope that the dilemma Proudhon faced in harmonizing means and ends might be overcome. He does so with modesty and with a full awareness of the difficulties facing contemporary libertarians.

This is a worthy contribution to the literature on Proudhon. Perhaps it will be followed by a full-scale historical study which will deal not only with his ideas but with the tradition which nurtured the man and his mind.

*University of British Columbia*

HARVEY MITCHELL

BONAPARTISM AFTER SEDAN. By *John Rothney*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 360. \$12.50.)

THE BOULANGER AFFAIR: POLITICAL CROSSROAD OF FRANCE, 1886-1889. By *Frederic H. Seager*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 276. \$8.00.)

THE larger outlines of the history of the Third Republic during its formative years can be apprehended readily enough from such general works as those by Brogan and Chastenet. What is still, to a large extent, lacking are detailed studies of the chief political figures and factions of the period. These two works are welcome if for no other reason than that they help to fill this gap. Of the two, John Rothney's perceptive and well-written monograph *Bonapartism After Sedan*, makes the more interesting and original contribution.

Although the Second Empire had been overthrown after Sedan and its adherents had won only some 100,000 votes in the elections for the National Assembly in February 1871, Bonapartism was by no means dead. Considering how widespread had been popular support for the government of Napoleon III even as late as the plebiscite of May 1870, one may legitimately wonder why the Bonapartists did not make a more impressive comeback in the ensuing decade. There were a number of reasons for this failure, among them a chronic shortage of funds, which prevented the underwriting of an adequate propaganda campaign and which also deprived the leaders of the party of a means of enforcing a measure of discipline and unity on its disparate elements.

The most damaging flaw, however, was ideological. The post-Sedan leaders of the party never really accepted the democratic implications of the Bonapartist creed with its reliance on the verdict of universal suffrage. Barring the unlikely eventuality that the conservative National Assembly would call for a plebiscite to decide the political future of the country, thus permitting the French people to display their putative Bonapartist sentiments, the restoration of the Empire could only come about legally through a vigorous and intensive effort to organize the electorate at the grass-roots level and then to work within the framework of the existing parliamentary institutions. A few Bonapartist chiefs such as Baron Eschasseriaux, the "King of the Charentes" and one of the chief protagonists of Rothney's study, appreciated the soundness of the Napoleonic

conviction that if the French masses were properly "enlightened" and guided, they could be counted on to vote for the preservation of society and not, as the typical Conservative of the Orleanist stripe feared, for its destruction. Most of the legatees of the imperial cause took their stand with these Conservatives to the point of soft-pedaling their unique Bonapartist message. Their prospective clientele, as a consequence, either was enticed, or drifted inevitably of its own accord, into the Republican camp.

Within the limits of what he has undertaken, one could hardly ask for more than Rothney has provided. In addition to his skillful delineation of the competing factions within the Bonapartist party and his vivid account of their vicissitudes, he has also written a cogent analysis of authoritarian democracy as one of the panaceas suggested most frequently since 1789 for the political ills besetting the French people. Still, by focusing so exclusively on the Bonapartists, he presupposes a considerable acquaintance with French political history on the part of his readers, an assumption that may lessen their numbers. This is a pity, for the book has something to say to both neophyte and specialist.

Where Rothney has perceived and ably filled a lacuna in our understanding of the Third Republic, Frederic Seager in *The Boulanger Affair* has sought to reinterpret an already familiar subject. His thesis is that the true Boulangists were not the followers of a man on horseback; they were simply men of the extreme Left, relatively few in number, who wanted "the establishment of a more democratic republic," one free from the vice of "parliamentarism." Boulangism only became a potential threat to the regime when the not very specific demands of the General for constitutional revision were also taken up by the Conservatives, including both the Monarchists and the remnants of the Bonapartists. This jerry-built alliance broke down as soon as the Opportunists opposed it with ruthlessness and determination.

Seager has done considerable research in the archives and in contemporary newspapers and periodicals. One result of his labors is that he has been able to scotch a cherished legend of the Third Republic. Contrary to most accounts, Boulanger did not, at the crucial moment, renounce the one opportunity to take power in order to remain with his mistress, since no one in his entourage even conceived of his leading a march on the Élysée following his great victory in the Paris by-election of January 27, 1889. Seager has also given us a useful analysis of both the supposed Conservative resurgence during the elections of 1885 and of the "staggered plebiscite" of 1888, to remind us that Boulanger lost almost as many electoral contests as he won. But on the whole, the book has little new to say. Despite the author's claims to the contrary, his final assessment of the Boulanger episode does not differ markedly from that to be found in Dansette's *Le Boulangisme*, originally published some thirty years ago, except with regard to the Caesaristic component of the phenomenon. If the latent Caesarism of the French people is to be discounted as a significant factor, we are still left with the problem of why it was a dashing general and not someone else who, at this moment in time, became the "*syndic des mécontents*."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

DAVID B. RALSTON

LOS SECRETARIOS DE ESTADO Y DEL DESPACHO (1474-1724). In four volumes. By José Antonio Escudero. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos. 1969. Pp. xx, 316; viii, 318-602; xiv, 608-926; xi, 966-1289. 1,400 Ptas. the set.)

THE four volumes under discussion include a great deal of important information concerning the bureaucrats and governing institutions of Spain under the Habsburgs.



Volume I deals principally with the personalities of the main secretaries and their relation to their royal masters. Volume II covers the same chronological era but shifts the focus to the institutional development of the various royal councils. Volumes III and IV are documental appendixes which reprint copiously the administrative formulae for the naming and paying of secretaries, the definition of their individual functions, and the listing of duties for the many councils. They also offer the student many letters and council minutes illustrating the day-to-day functioning of royal government. The sources of all citations are given in footnotes which constitute perhaps one third of the entire text, and Volume II contains a bibliography. There is no index, but the analytical table of contents in each volume enables the reader to localize material on specific persons or councils fairly quickly.

The strength of Professor Escudero's work is its careful presentation of detailed information; however, the volumes do not form a unified whole. The author assumes a knowledge of the outlines of Spanish political history. He moves back and forth chronologically, often organizing his paragraphs around an anecdote, a comparison of personalities, or a digression concerning some earlier historian's treatment of a particular person or institution. He is concerned to give careful definitions of the several secretaryships discussed, but there is much overlap and vagueness in these definitions, largely because the real powers and functions of a given secretary depended far more upon the personal relation between himself and the king than upon any verbal definition, however carefully worded in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and however conscientiously commented upon by the author in the twentieth. This difficulty can be illustrated by his discussion of Gonzalo Pérez, Philip II's first "Secretario del Estado." The author lays great stress on the title Secretary of State "para los negocios de fuera de España." Because there was already a Secretary of War, the monarch felt it necessary to define carefully the competence of Gonzalo Pérez. He was to work with the King personally and with the existing councils on all affairs of war and peace, on sea or land, relevant to nonpeninsular Spain. After what Escudero calls "this clarification" of the affairs of war, he goes on to cite another document directing that all letters, petitions, and documents relative to war or to any other subject which would go to the Council of State, will be handled by Pérez. The author treats these directives as if they constituted a clearly thought out definition of an institutional change, but surely they can just as well be interpreted as *ad hoc* decisions by the King to make the amplest possible use of a very able man whom he trusted and could work well with.

At the beginning of Volume I Escudero writes that the true origins of the Council of State are problematic, and throughout his two volumes of narrative he struggles manfully to provide definitions of the councils as they developed between 1474 and 1724. But because of the very personal and arbitrary nature of power during the Habsburg era, despite the bureaucratic façade, the definitions are never truly valid except for a specific council during a rather limited span of time. In the end only a few general conclusions can be drawn, such as that the *validos* had the king's confidence, or at least enjoyed direct access to him, while secretaries had little personal contact, and that a Secretario del Rey was not responsible to a council, and also ranked lower in the hierarchy than did a Secretario del Estado. In all detailed scholarship there is a certain danger of missing the forest for the trees. The danger seems especially great in the case of administrative histories like the present work. Scholars will be grateful for the data given, but they will find very little relation in these volumes between the significant events of Spanish history and the biographical facts and structural definitions concerning the secretaries and councils.

University of California, San Diego

GABRIEL JACKSON



EL CÁDIZ DE LAS CORTES: LA VIDA EN LA CIUDAD EN LOS AÑOS 1810 A 1813. By *Ramón Solís*. [El Libro de Bolsillo, Sección: Humanidades.] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 1969. Pp. 499.)

THIS book is a paperback reissue of the scholarly edition of Solís' work first published in 1958. *El Cádiz de las Cortes* received the Fastenrath Prize of the Spanish Academy of History in 1960. The present edition includes the bibliography of the original, though this becomes merely ornamental in view of the absence of footnotes. Maps and plans, also apparently present in the first edition, are left out.

Solís sets himself the task of recreating the milieu of Cádiz during the fateful years 1810-1812, when the Spanish Cortes met there to direct resistance against Napoleon and to try to set Spain on the road to modernization. The author proceeds systematically, dealing first with the city's topography and climate. He turns next to the social and economic structure, and then to a short review of the military action involved in the French siege of the city. Solís then proceeds with sections on the Cortes itself, the religious life of the city, amusement, dress, the press, disease, libraries, and more.

The result is a book somewhat discursive and compartmentalized to North American eyes but which, nevertheless, has considerable interest and evocative power in certain sections. What interested me most was Solís' able delineation of the way in which the fabulous trade of Cádiz created a city that was wealthy, commercially oriented, and cosmopolitan, and, therefore, rather "un-Spanish." When plunged into the crises of 1808-1820, this city emerged almost as the prototype of liberal Spain.

The author takes considerable care to correct the view of certain conservative writers, who, in his opinion, have invented the anti-Catholicism of the Cortes and exaggerated out of all proportion the influence of Freemasonry as well as the supposed impact of the "mob" in Cádiz. For Solís, the Cortes was a sincere and moderate body that sought to modernize Spanish society and to reform politics within the basic framework of the monarchy and the Church. The hostile reaction of the conservatives, who identified any attempt at reform as subversive and branded even the mild reformers as foes of religion, was decisive in creating the rabid political climate which became, unfortunately, characteristic of nineteenth-century Spain.

Solís' balanced and scholarly approach sets the work of the Cortes in perspective, and is a useful corrective to the polemical heat of the nineteenth century which still surrounds the subject. Also of interest is Solís' examination of contemporary newspapers. The unaccustomed liberty of the press allowed a public exchange of opinion to which the author devotes a most interesting section. Here, too, one can see the emergence of the parties and polemics that were to rule during the next century.

Solís' book is a thoughtful, well-documented, and evocative work. Its principal shortcoming, in my opinion, is a compartmentalized structure that obscures the interplay of events.

*Brigham Young University*

GEORGE M. ADDY

LES GUEUX DANS LES "BONNES VILLES" DE FLANDRE (1577-1584). By *Tibor Wittman*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1969. Pp. 422. \$10.00.)

In his historiographical survey of the Revolt of the Netherlands ("Spiegel historiael van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog," in *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog*, edited by J. Presser [3d ed., 1948]), Jan Romein pointed out that no one had produced a new synthesis since Motley. Motley had been sustained by his Protestant, national, and liberal convictions. Since then, less and less sure of their convictions, historians could only produce erudite criti-

cism. Now, using the integrating power of Marxism, Tibor Wittman has attempted to provide the new synthesis.

The book is far more than a story of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres during the climactic years of revolution. As a necessary prerequisite to his analysis of what happened then, the author offers an interpretation of their economic and social history since the twelfth century. This rests upon a thorough appreciation of the work of masters like Henri Pirenne, interspersed with occasional challenges to Pirenne's view of particular problems. Wittman says that Pirenne overestimated the capitalistic development of sixteenth-century Flanders, and he explains why he thinks "draperie rurale" is a misleading term. But Soviet historians are just as subject to Wittman's critical acumen as their Western colleagues: Chistozvonov and Van Werveke suffer by the same stroke (for confusing clothiers and weavers), though both generally enjoy his respect. His highest praise is reserved for Emile Coornaert and his work on Hondschoote.

Wittman has expressly undertaken the task of amending earlier Marxist studies on the subject, where he judges this to be necessary. "In the South, unlike the North, the transformation of the bourgeoisie was not proceeding in a capitalist direction." Accordingly, we should not expect the revolution there to possess all the attributes of a bourgeois revolution. Its failure cannot be explained only in terms of bad leadership—of the disinclination of a William of Orange to embark on social revolution; the "democrats" like Hembyze who challenged Orange lacked the economic and social base on which to build a viable radical alternative. There were no levellers in the Netherlandish revolution.

On the other hand, Wittman criticizes Soviet historians for postponing the advent of the modern era to the English Revolution. He is skeptical about the *prétendue crise* of the seventeenth century, so fashionable among Western historians, too, both Marxist and non-Marxist; Wittman prefers, with Marx, to launch the modern era in the sixteenth century with the successful achievement of Dutch independence.

The author does not neglect political history. Here, too, as in his treatment of economic history, he necessarily leans heavily on the work of earlier historians. What is original in both cases is his interpretation. Following Chistozvonov, he exposes the weaknesses of Orangist leadership, but unlike his Russian colleague, he insists that the conditions for a bourgeois revolution were not present in Flanders. His argument is persuasive, but it led me to wonder why, in that case, it was valid to blame Orange and others for not behaving like revolutionaries.

Despite inevitable differences of interpretation, everyone who studies the rise of modern Europe or the rise of capitalism will find this book valuable. Its comparisons are often stimulating, for example, between the Low Countries and seventeenth-century England, or between the cloth guilds in Flanders and Tuscany. The original work was completed in 1961, but the present edition has been supplied with a new introductory chapter, and the notes citing works published in 1967 show that the author has taken into account the latest studies up to that date.

Wittman's appeal to all historians, Marxist and non-Marxist, to join in the common task of getting at historical truth merits applause.

University of Washington

GORDON GRIFFITHS

STUDI GROZIANI. By *Antonio Droetto*. Preface by *Norberto Bobbio*. [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume XVIII.] (Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1968. Pp. 324. L. 4,000.)

ANTONIO Droetto's work on Hugo Grotius was originally published in a number of periodicals. In a brief preface to the collection Norberto Bobbio fails to place Droetto in the context of the scholarship on Grotius. Instead Bobbio leaves the reader with the distinct impression that Droetto was an Italian "Mr. Chips" who happened to write a few articles. This is not, however, entirely the case. Droetto was one of many who, during and immediately after the Second World War, sought a solution to world problems in international law and organization. As a historian and philosopher he sought his intellectual precedents in the thoughts of Grotius.

The articles presented in the *Studi Groziani* are of uneven quality. Some are quite interesting, while others are considerably less so. Almost all are dated by more recent scholarship. For the most part Droetto's earlier studies can be dismissed as little more than rather erudite expansions on particular points of Grotius' thought, such as the problem of liberty of the seas in wartime. These essays really do not go much beyond the common knowledge of an informed reader. One reason for Droetto's academic and elementary production in the early 1940's might possibly be found in the experience of a scholar living in a fascist state. On the other hand, the articles on Grotius' and Descartes' positions on eternal truth, and Grotius' contribution to Giambattista Vico's development, are stimulating, though dated, examinations of two perennially fascinating problems. Finally, some of the essays are poorly written and based upon tenuous arguments. Droetto's attempt to apply the concept of *tacitismo* to Grotius the historian is one such essay.

For the most part, Droetto's work constitutes an interesting, but insignificant and outdated addition to the study of Grotius and seventeenth-century European intellectual history. Perhaps the value of this volume lies in the presentation of period pieces of Italian scholarship from the forties and fifties of the present century. A prospective reader might well avoid reading Bobbio's preface and profitably spend an evening or two with a few of Droetto's essays.

*Carnegie-Mellon University*

JOHN J. RENALDO

DAS TOLERANZ-PROBLEM IN DEN NIEDERLANDEN IM AUSGANG DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Gerhard Güldner*. [Historische Studien, Number 403.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1968. Pp. 196. DM 28.00.)

Nor as ambitious as the title might indicate, Güldner's book is a thorough study of the heated controversy that took place in the Netherlands in 1590 between Justus Lipsius, a Tacitus scholar and admirer of Stoicism, and his older contemporary, Dirk Coornhert, an evangelical and amateur theologian, who had just convinced Arminius that predestination was indefensible. Also included is an examination of Castellio's ideas on toleration, their influence in the Lowlands, and specifically on Coornhert. Revising earlier treatments (notably Van Schelven, 1931), Güldner shows that defense of toleration on religious and ethical as well as on political grounds was not uncommon in the Lowlands.

The controversy itself is intriguing. Lipsius argued calmly and reasonably along humanist lines that the state should enforce outward conformity to one religion, to secure peace and to allow the state to concentrate on its own proper secular ends. The

aging Coornhert replied with an emotional plea for tolerance, on Biblical grounds, arguing that religion was a matter of the heart, that all sincere beliefs (even, contra Castelli, atheism) should be tolerated, that conversion comes through the Word and not through force, and that Lipsius was aping Machiavelli and the Duke of Alva. As Güldner points out, both rejected the idea of the intolerant, religiously-based state, maintained by the radical Calvinists who at that moment were driving for power in the Netherlands. As his rapid summary of the political background to the controversy indicates, their ideas were receiving increasingly favorable hearing: Rennenberg's treason, the assassination of Orange, and the Armada of 1588 combined to make tolerance seem at best an impractical ideal. After a further flurry of pamphlets in 1590, Lipsius turned Catholic and left Holland. Coornhert died in late 1590; but his ideas lived on in the pamphleteering surrounding the Arminian controversy of the next generation. Even apart from introducing Coornhert to a wider audience, Güldner's compact and interesting account helps demonstrate the complexity of the history of toleration.

*Calvin College*

D. W. JELLEMA

LE RÉGIME PARLEMENTAIRE BELGE DE 1918 À 1940. By *Carl-Henrik Höjer*. [Skrifter utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga Föreningen i Uppsala genom Axel Brusewitz, Number 22.] (Reprint; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB; distrib. by Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques, Brussels. 1969. Pp. xx, 373. 350 fr. B.)

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL virtue sometimes turns up in unlikely packages and when it does, it would seem to have important implications about the nature of history and of the historical process itself. Here is a book about Belgium written by a foreigner and published in Sweden almost a quarter of a century ago. Yet its language, the problems it deals with, and the analysis it presents seem so fresh and relevant to recent Belgian developments that a knowledgeable organization devoted to the investigation of current affairs has quite commendably seen fit to republish it.

A lot of history has flowed under the bridge since the book first appeared in 1946, however. The bibliography (which contains 201 entries in French and only one in Flemish) barely reaches into the 1940's; the Second World War is hardly noticed; the German occupation is overlooked entirely, while the deposition of the king, the formation of Benelux and the European Community, the loss of the Congo, and the 1954 flare-up of the venerable *guerre scolaire* were still in the future when the book was written. And yet it is quite probably because these dramatic things so thoroughly absorbed contemporary attentions that everyone was taken unawares when language problems, for example, broke through after the other crises had subsided. And, in fact, linguistic antagonisms had been drawing virulence from those other crises as well: certainly the decolonization of foreign areas fed the frustration of ethnic groups who felt they lived in a colonial status within their own country—not only the Flemish in Belgium, but the Welsh, Irish, Bretons, and the US Blacks, as well.

Belgian history produced parties revolving around two disputes: ideological (pro- and anti-clerical) and socio-economic (pro- and anti-democratic or socialist). Probably the master theme that runs through the book concerns the inability of the Belgian parliamentary system, founded to handle problems presented to it by the three major parties, to come to grips with the language problem. Reduced to a formula, this failure stemmed from the fact that none of the three (Catholic, Liberal, or Socialist) could present a united front on linguistic affairs. Yet the historic disputes that defined the

parties prevented like-minded factions from forming more than transient coalitions united across party lines to deal with some specific, immediate difficulty. The implication of all this seems clear: the mitigation, transformation, or solution of those disputes made those parties (and hence the parliamentary system that depended on them) redundant. Quite possibly there are other parliamentary systems throughout the world suffering from the same redundancy.

*Lewis and Clark College*

ALLAN H. KITTELL

STUDIEN ZUR FINANZREFORM MAXIMILIANS I. VON BAYERN IN DEN JAHREN 1598-1618: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES FRÜHABSOLUTISMUS. By *Heinz Dollinger*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Number 8.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968. Pp. 643. DM 76.)

In this long monograph (the footnotes occupy as much space as the three-hundred page text), an attempt is made to ascertain the basis for the formidable, if temporary, rise of Bavaria under Maximilian I to the status of a major European power. Public finance, as Dollinger correctly states, involves the very foundations of political authority.

After announcing that he is interested in discussing the role of Maximilian I in financial policy-making, the author begins by analyzing the fiscal crisis of 1597 and 1598. By 1597 the Estates had lost confidence in William because of that elector's extraordinary additions to the public indebtedness: additions which had to be assumed in the form of a loan from that quasi-representative body. From the beginning of his reign, therefore, Maximilian had to negotiate with the Estates in order to build up his political authority. Discussions of the meetings of the Estates, which occur throughout this rather disjointed work, indicate that a working compromise was reached in which the ruler did not feel it necessary or desirable to try to destroy the political power of the *Stände* and the latter did not become mere vehicles for the expression of narrow-minded and particularistic interests.

The second foundation of Maximilian's increased authority came from the establishment of a reformed and slightly enlarged bureaucratic organization directed by the fiscal *collegium*, the *Hofkammer*. In the course of expanding the duties of the *Hofkammer*, Maximilian hired jurists trained in Roman and canon law in the universities; Dr. Johann Mändl was to be the first of this group to achieve eminence as its president. Finally, as a result of a new and smooth cooperation between ruler and Estates, and increased efficiency on the part of the bureaucracy, the revenues of the state began to climb. Dollinger emphasizes, however, that the old, semimediæval taxes and fees were retained and in most cases simply augmented. The balance sheets show increased revenues from different taxes between 1598 and 1618.

Maximilian was interested, Dollinger claims, in developing a new kind of monarchy based upon the concept of the "Police State" in which the personal bonds of a feudal order were severed and replaced by a centralized, authoritarian, "rationalized" political order. Nevertheless, he was really a bridge between the two worlds and retained mediæval characteristics in his complicated political personality. Hard-headed man of power as he undoubtedly was, Maximilian knew that he had to work within the limits that his society allowed. The power of the Estates was declining, and rural aristocrats and urban patricians were trying to use the bureaucracy as a new instrument of political influence. Maximilian wished to rule, however, and wished to make his bureaucrats efficient servants and nothing more.

The author develops a generally sound, if not original thesis: a recent biographer of Maximilian, Kurt Pfister, wrote previously of the Bavarian "Police State" in exaggerated terms that Dollinger modifies. Nevertheless this study contains a mass of information and minor insights of value (the discussion of the dual rule of 1597-98 and the biographical summaries of important officials are examples of the latter). Unfortunately the author cannot escape criticism of his methodology and use of evidence. How can one discuss the financial reforms of statesmen without discussing "the structural basis of finance"? Dollinger concentrates on Maximilian's personal relationships with a number of officials in an effort to reveal his personality. But fiscal reform has to do with mundane things such as the institutional means by which taxes were collected, who paid these taxes, how they were accounted for, and a host of other matters which are not glamorous. Dollinger fortunately does talk about the specific taxes and about a reform of accounting procedures in general terms, but does not try to explain the institutional basis of Bavarian state finance. Did the clergy pay taxes? The author never discusses this important question except to mention casually that Maximilian forced some monastic foundations to grant loans to the State. A misplaced focus of the work prevents the author, in short, from making a rigorous analysis of the financial structure, without which the role of Maximilian can not really be delineated. A more serious shortcoming is Dollinger's failure to discuss general economic conditions, the possibility of monetary inflation, and the impact of taxes on the economy. Fiscal reform seems to have been a kind of exercise conducted in a vacuum. His figures lack meaning because none are correlated to real wages or to any general economic measuring tool.

University of Saskatchewan

HUBERT C. JOHNSON

BISMARCK UND DER IMPERIALISMUS. By *Hans-Ulrich Wehler*. (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. 1969. Pp. 582. DM 47.)

IN technique and interpretation this massive book, written by a young *Dozent* at Köln, is representative of a growing revolution in German historical writing. Like Helmut Böhme recently, and Eckart Kehr earlier, Wehler has openly broken with the dominant tradition of German historiography. German historicism, he states in the introduction, has usually ended in a conservative justification of the status quo. "Today the historian must possess a free, critical social conscience." History must be a critical, not merely a descriptive discipline. (His final chapter contains one of the most severe indictments of the Bismarckian system of government ever written by a German historian.) Wehler also recognizes that German historicism has produced an unnatural separation of political history from economic and social history. Bismarck's acquisition of colonies, he maintains, can only be understood as an outgrowth of the Great Depression of 1873-1896. Like the adoption of protectionism in 1879, the inauguration of social insurance legislation, official encouragement of anti-Semitism, and many other related measures, the acquisition of colonies was intended as a "safety valve" with which to release internal pressures dangerous to the existing social and political order. Colonialism sprang from a *Primat der Innen*, not *Aussenpolitik*.

Wehler is hardly the first historian to note the relationship between the rise of protectionism, the frenzied search for markets, and the emergence of the "new imperialism." Yet there has been a general neglect of the economic setting within which these events occurred (as in the works of Mary Townsend, Maximilian von Hagen, and A. J. P. Taylor). Hans Rosenberg's brilliant article published in the *Economic History Review* (Vol. XIII [1943], 58), and his book *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit*



(1967), ought to make it impossible for any future historian to commit that error. It was Wehler who induced Rosenberg to develop the article into a book, and Rosenberg's influence upon Wehler is evident throughout *Bismarck und der Imperialismus*.

Drawing upon extensive research in archives, newspaper files, published documents, and memoirs, Wehler provides convincing evidence of a general consensus among Germans about the causes of the depression (over-production), its threatening social consequences (revolution), and its cure (expansion of foreign trade). Yet they differed on how the cure was to be achieved. Free traders preferred an "informal empire," to be attained by commercial penetration into underdeveloped regions. Defenders of the "intervention state," on the other hand, advocated participation in the race for colonies; only a "German India" in Africa could relieve the German economy of the glut of goods produced by industrialism. Bismarck accepted the general diagnosis and adopted in succession all of the proposals for therapy. Originally an advocate of "informal empire," he reversed himself in 1884-1885 by establishing protectorates administered by chartered companies and, after that device had failed, colonies governed and administered by the *Reich*.

In the introduction Wehler outlines a theory of imperialism or explanatory model derived from the writings of various political economists and from the author's earlier investigation of American imperialism, a subject upon which he has published several articles. He found his hypothesis confirmed by his research on German imperialism. Essentially his theory is that the "new imperialism" of the late nineteenth century was a "phenomenon of the industrial world" or "a definite phase" in the development of industrial capitalism. This is, of course, reminiscent of Lenin. But Wehler's version is far more sophisticated, for the author is well acquainted with the results of modern economic research and the theories of economic development from Kondratieff to Kuznets.

Wehler's model has both the strength and weakness inherent in this device. It provides a brilliant illumination of some aspects of the problem, while leaving others such as nationalism, social Darwinism, and the power struggle in the shade. The author freely admits this limitation, but makes of it a virtue. "A clear, penetrating view" of the "factors believed to be decisive," gained by use of a model, is preferable to a "hasty and vague synthesis or a summary providing no scale of priorities." But is it preferable to a synthesis which is neither hasty nor vague or a summary which judiciously weighs the relative importance of the factors it includes?

After more than a century of Hegel, German historians have finally discovered Karl Marx. Wehler is so iconoclastic as to assert that "the historian of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can learn incomparably more from Marx than from Ranke." Judging from the trend evident in this and other recent publications, we now face the prospect of a period of all-out economic determinism in German historical writing. Thesis and antithesis, however, are inevitably superseded by synthesis—or so Hegel taught.

University of Minnesota

OTTO PFLANZE

SOCIAL CONSERVATISM AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN GERMANY, 1914-1933. By *Herman Lebovics*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 248. \$8.50.)

THE title of this book is very misleading. It is not in any way a serious study of the social attitudes of the *Mittelstand*, let alone the middle classes, during the Weimar period. In fact, the book barely touches upon social history. The introduction and first chapter deal with the *Mittelstand*—a "social class" whose existence outside the ideas of

a few political theorists, and academics in general, may well be questioned—and with the economic situation in Weimar Germany, although some attention is given to fitting the middle class into this context. The bulk of the book is devoted to a consideration of the political ideas of Werner Sombart, Edgar Salin, Othmar Spann, Ernst Niekisch, Oswald Spengler, and Ferdinand Fried and his circle. The final chapter sketches National Socialist ideas regarding economic policy in the Weimar years and the reaction of the book's protagonists to National Socialism as it came to power and thereafter. Lebovics' contribution is, therefore, primarily to the history of ideas and not to social history.

The first two chapters dealing with the *Mittelstand* and the general background are based almost entirely upon the general secondary literature in the field. On the whole, they provide an interesting, though incomplete, survey of the economic situation, but are misleading and unclear on the social side. For example, Lebovics places the peasantry into his *Mittelstand* (as do others, to be fair), although he himself admits that they did not act as if they belonged to this group. He even indicates that they thought of themselves as part of the *Mittelstand*, which is surprising, since in thousands of pages of reports, comments, letters, and newspaper accounts regarding the political attitudes of the peasantry, I found no such indications. Lebovics' use of terminology is also very loose and imprecise, so that one is not always sure about which groups he is speaking. For example, he uses the words "*Mittelstand*" and "middle classes" as if they were interchangeable, although the *Mittelstand* corresponds neither to the middle classes of Marxism, the middle classes as they are commonly thought of in US scholarly circles, nor to any clearly identifiable and self-conscious social or voting bloc within Weimar Germany. Therefore, although it is useful as an aid in placing the work of his protagonists in an economic context, this section must be handled with care. As a social study, it is casual, at best, and depends upon secondary materials in a field where there is a crying need for serious work in the sources.

The chapters dealing with the political theorists are very interesting and, in so far as he is dealing with the men themselves, extremely persuasive. The background is provided by the secondary literature. This effort breaks down when he passes from the content of what was said to its influence. He says that the men had great impact, and he says it emphatically and with conviction. He does not, however, make any serious effort to prove it, in which, I will admit, he has many precedents in intellectual history. He does not use primary sources to any noticeable extent in proving his point. Where he does not simply assume the influence of these men, he refers to sources which in many cases used the same techniques. He does not show that the middle classes (or the *Mittelstand*) read the works of his protagonists, or even that key political figures were swayed by them. The best he can do is to show occasional parallelism, or that certain persons had the materials available to them. In the case of "*Die Tat*," one of the few instances where he gives any figures, he uses a circulation figure of thirty thousand, which he believes indicates a somewhat larger true circulation, to show great influence. Yet, he does not have any evidence that those who bought also read or that those who read were influenced.

In essence, then, the book deserves good if not excellent marks in the realm of the history of ideas and poor marks in the realm of political and social history.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

DER ZENTRALRAT DER DEUTSCHEN SOZIALISTISCHEN REPUBLIK, 19. 12. 1918-8. 4. 1919: VOM ERSTEN ZUM ZWEITEN RÄTEKONGRESS. Edited by Eberhard Kolb, with the assistance of Reinhard Rürup. [Quellen zur Geschichte der Rätebewegung in Deutschland, 1918/19, Number 1.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1968. Pp. lxxvii, 830. 153 gls.)

THIS superbly produced book belongs in a series of documentary collections, published by the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and Political Parties in Bonn, treating the immediate political circumstances of reform and revolution in Germany at the conclusion of the First World War. Two earlier volumes, edited by Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, traced the belated coalescence of parliamentary forces before the final military collapse: *Der Interfraktionelle Ausschuss 1917/18* and *Die Regierung des Prinzen Max von Baden*. Now this volume and its forthcoming companion (drawn from regional and local archives) will serve to continue the story after November 1918 until the ratification of the Weimar Constitution in the following spring. The total result of this remarkable effort and expense is certain to be a solid documentary platform on which future research into the Weimar years can be securely constructed.

It is no criticism of Kolb and Rürup, two of Germany's more capable young historians, to remark that the monumental size of their tome is hardly in proportion to the value of its contents. Their editorial work is, in fact, exemplary. In a scrupulous attempt to present as complete and unslanted a record as possible, they have included and carefully annotated the full text of *Zentralrat* transcripts, taken from the archives of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, and supplemented them with such other records as could be located, especially in the Bundesarchiv at Koblenz. The edition is therefore well nigh definitive but nonetheless, simply by the nature of the subject, disappointing.

The *Zentralrat* was constituted at the first national congress of "revolutionary" councils in Berlin in mid-December 1918. By that time most of the decisive questions of procedure and prerogative had already been resolved in favor of the Majority Socialists who were, moreover, able to muster nearly three hundred of the 489 delegates to the congress. The outcome of the central debate over "National Assembly or Council System" was a foregone conclusion. When the congress then rejected a motion granting extensive legislative controls to the *Zentralrat*, the Independent Socialist party promptly refused to have any of its representatives participate in this, the primary executive organ of Germany's entire council structure. All of its twenty-seven members during the only phase when it possessed any political potential whatsoever, from the opening of the congress to the elections for the Weimar assembly a month later, were consequently Majority Socialists. As Rosa Luxemburg correctly observed, this meant the suicide of the council system. The members of the *Zentralrat*, most of them minor SPD functionaries, thereby became the pallbearers of the revolution. Of the two major tasks assigned to them—to "control" and to cooperate with the provisional regime of the People's Commissars (*Volksbeauftragten*)—the men of the *Zentralrat* clearly ignored the first in favor of the second. Their conception of preserving the "revolutionary accomplishments" of the councils was confined largely to framing an article for inclusion in the Weimar Constitution.

With this volume before us we are able to follow closely the measured pace of the funeral cortege, to watch the coffin lowered gently to its final resting place, and to see the first handful of dirt cast into the grave.

Smith College

ALLAN MITCHELL

DAS KABINETT CUNO: 22. NOVEMBER 1922 BIS 12. AUGUST 1923. Edited by Karl-Heinz Harbeck. [Akten der Reichskanzlei: Weimarer Republik.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1968. Pp. lvi, 799.)

THIS is the first volume of a new collection of documents which will make available materials from the files of the *Reich* Chancellery in the Weimar period. The purpose of the series is to show the interrelationship between foreign and domestic politics, and in this volume that purpose is fulfilled. The project is the result of cooperation between the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Science and the Bundesarchiv. Professor Karl Dietrich Erdmann, the general editor, has informed me that the entire project will consist of twenty volumes, and that it will be completed in ten years. Two volumes on the Müller cabinet (1928–1930) are now at the press and will appear shortly. Volumes on the first and second Marx cabinets will appear in 1970, and a volume on the Wirth cabinet will be published in 1971. The first ten books are listed in Part II of the Harrassowitz Catalog, *German History from 1871 to the Present* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969).

The format of this work is similar to the Series B collection which has appeared on German foreign policy (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 523). The 250 documents are arranged chronologically. Included are fifty-eight protocols of cabinet meetings, seventeen ministerial talks, thirty-four documents dealing with *Reich-Länder* relations, protocols of meetings with industrial and labor groups, and many letters. It would seem that there will be little overlapping of the documents in this series with Series A and Series B, although they will closely supplement each other.

For those who have tried to read the cabinet protocols on microfilm, the clear type and fine quality of paper will be an enormous boon. In addition, the copious footnotes are extremely valuable, as are the explanations of the mechanics of German administration. There are excellent indexes to both persons and things, with page references rather than document references as in Series B.

The major disappointment is the rather bland character of the documents themselves. The protocols are objective, official summaries of what was said in a meeting, not stenographic reports. For those who have been accustomed to the excitement of private papers, party records, or even Reichstag debates, the hand of the German bureaucrat will seem to deaden even the most passionate exchanges. It is rather incongruous to place these colorless documents against the emotional backdrop of some of Germany's most violent months: the Ruhr "Invasion"; runaway inflation; extremist revolutionary activity. The editors, however, are not responsible for the lack of color in many of the documents, and they place all Weimar specialists in their debt for a superb example of how documents should be published. The series will be indispensable for any graduate program in German history.

Colorado State University

BRUCE B. FRYE

NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, 1933–1938. By Hans-Adolf Jacobsen. (Frankfurt am Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag. 1968. Pp. xx, 944. DM 98.)

IN his preface, Dr. Jacobsen states that a straightforward chronicle of Nazi foreign policy from 1933 to 1938 would fail to reveal the true nature of the subject because "the *diplomatic relations of the Third Reich are only a part of the whole*" (author's italics). To get at this "whole," he has concentrated on the problem of how Nazi foreign policy was made, and on the nature of the influences operating on the policy-makers. Almost

the entire book, therefore, is devoted to an examination of the structure of politics, the decision-making process, and the problem of ideology. Jacobsen specifically avoids a detailed discussion of Germany's diplomatic and economic relations with foreign powers, because these subjects are being treated by two American scholars, G. L. Weinberg and A. Schweitzer.

The central thesis of the book is that Nazi foreign policy was the unique product of Nazi ideology and the Nazi system of government. Hence, although all kinds of antecedents might be found in German foreign policy of the nineteenth and the earlier part of the twentieth centuries, Nazi foreign policy did not represent a continuity but a revolutionary break with the past. Hitler was not concerned, as former rulers had been, with territorial expansion for its own sake, the acquisition of geographically favorable bastions in the East and West, or the establishment of German domination over foreign peoples, but with the outright extermination of non-German peoples and the construction of an empire on racial principles.

This thesis is by no means original, but it is made the more convincing by the nature of the evidence on which this work is based. Jacobsen shows that the traditionalist foreign office did not necessarily formulate or execute the major decisions in foreign policy during the Nazi era, and he examines the large number of other organizations that had a hand in foreign affairs under the Nazi regime. He proceeds to an analysis of the decision-making process, above all as it concerned Hitler, and then to a discussion of the decisions that were actually made, from the period of disguised aggression (rearmament, the naval treaty with England, the remilitarization of the Rhineland), to outright expansion (the annexations of Austria and the Sudetenland). Finally, Jacobsen deals at length with the impact of ideology, the selection of Nazi leadership, and the spread of National Socialism throughout the world through Nazi foreign policy organizations.

There is little in all this that is not known to specialists, to whom the book is primarily addressed, but Jacobsen organizes his material well and presents it clearly, albeit often at excessive length. His scholarship is impeccable, he has a splendid command of the sources, and he is fair-minded and judicious.

As a final service to scholars, he has included some three hundred pages of appendixes, including charts on the personnel in the main positions in the foreign office, embassies and missions abroad, and the various Nazi offices engaged in foreign affairs. There are further charts on the budgets of these offices, lists of German schools abroad under Nazi auspices, Ribbentrop's itinerary in 1937-38, and much more. Some of these appendixes seem superfluous, as the information they contain is readily available elsewhere. Others, such as a chart on German rearmament figures from 1933, are of enormous value, but one wonders whether this kind of thing belongs in a book on foreign policy and should not have been included in a special volume of documents.

*Brown University*

NORMAN RICH

THE NAZIS IN THE BALKANS: A CASE STUDY OF TOTALITARIAN POLITICS. By *Dietrich Orlow*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 235. \$7.50.)

THIS book represents a careful scholarly attempt to examine a single organizational expression of Nazi intrusion into the Balkans. The title of the book tends to be a bit misleading (not an uncommon phenomenon in the current "seller's market" in academic publications) since the author deals only with the history of one organization, the



*Sudosteuropa-Gesellschaft*, as an example of the extension of Nazi foreign policy in the Balkans. As a result, the reader learns rather little about the Nazis in the Balkans but quite a lot about the intricacies, subtleties, and contradictions of German bureaucratic life. I found the analysis of the bureaucratic functioning of Nazi Germany, within the seemingly accidental setting of the Balkans, to be both sophisticated and intriguing.

Still, a couple of critical observations should be recorded about certain aspects of the book. Although the author provides us with an exhaustive description of the "life-to-death" cycle of a specific Nazi organization, he fails to indicate the relationship of his findings to appropriate work in the fields of public administration, bureaucratic history, or organization theory. This shortcoming is also reflected in the nature of the sources he used—namely an almost exclusive dependence upon primary documentary materials (for example, directories, memoirs, transcripts, and so on) with relatively little use of secondary analyses or theoretical works. The other point suggested above, that the "Balkan side" of the problem may have been shortchanged, is also reflected in the range of sources used. We find an almost exclusive reliance upon German language sources with little, if any, materials of the time taken from the involved Balkan countries themselves. In one sense, this is quite understandable in view of Orlow's rather limited concern with the bureaucratic dimensions of a single Nazi organization. To summarize, the book might have been improved on two counts: the linking up of the descriptive analysis with more general theoretical literature on the functioning of bureaucratic organizations, and a greater stress upon the Balkan side of the presence of the Nazis and their organizations in that part of the world. Both would have made the volume more useful and surely they would have made the title considerably less misleading.

The author provides us with many valuable theoretical insights into the functioning of bureaucratic systems: the problem is that these fly out at the reader at more or less random intervals in the course of the book's development. His stress, for example, upon the disordered and chaotic nature of what is usually assumed to be the precision of Nazi bureaucracy, the pervading ethos of competitive survival of the organizational "state of nature" that existed in Nazi Germany, his observations of what happens to individuals and their ethical sense when caught up in such a system, and many other problems, would have had greater effect if placed within a generalized theory of how bureaucratic systems operate and how individuals react under such conditions. As a matter of fact, there is one attempt by Professor Orlow to provide the reader with precisely such an integrated theory when in his last paragraph he sets forth a dialectical model (presumed organizational unity, an underlying competition and organizational chaos, and a final substratum of moral and goal-oriented unity) of bureaucratic life in Nazi Germany. Such an effort, however, is all too meagre and comes much too late in the development of his work.

Despite these reservations, the book contributes (although for me in a purely descriptive sense) to our knowledge of the functioning of Nazi bureaucratic machinery and of the strategy of "unofficial" German intrusion into the Balkans.

*University of Oregon*

M. GEORGE ZANINOVICH



DIE WEHRMACHT IM NS-STAAT: ZEIT DER INDOKTRINATION. By *Manfred Messerschmidt*. With an introduction by *Johann Adolf Graf Kielmansegg*. [Truppe und Verwaltung, Number 16.] (Hamburg: R. v. Decker's Verlag, G. Schenk. 1969. Pp. xix, 519. DM 38.50.)

A DETAILED study of the indoctrination of the German army by the Nazi party has long been overdue. The studies of O'Neill and Sauer, and the essays by Besson, Weinberg, and Berghahn on the *Führungsoffiziere* touched on various aspects of this problem, but Messerschmidt's book ably fills many of the gaps in our knowledge of this important question.

The picture of the German army that emerges from this study is indeed depressing. The upper echelons of the army, far from trying to preserve the ideological independence of the officer corps, actively cooperated with the new regime to a far greater extent than has previously been assumed. The army and the National Socialists had a partial identity of aims. The emphasis the Nazis placed on soldierly virtues, on rearmament, and on the importance of the army's role in the Third *Reich* was attractive to many officers. Thus Nazi propaganda material was introduced into political and military courses in the army as early as March 1933, though men like Blomberg and Reichenau hoped that they would still be able to preserve the organizational autonomy of the army against Nazi encroachments. The belief that theory and practice could be so neatly separated proved to be a fatal illusion. Officer selection and even military law were to become subordinated to the requirements of a fascist dictatorship. The two pillar theory, dear to the hearts of many senior officers, was soon to be shown up as utterly unrealistic, particularly when Keitel replaced Reichenau and looked up to Hitler as a God-given genius.

The book also gives new insights into the attitudes of many of the leading officers. Particularly interesting is the portrait of Fritsch. He was far more sympathetic to National Socialism than we had previously been led to believe, even though his attitude was tempered by the traditional blend of military conservatism.

Messerschmidt has written a book that is packed with fascinating and important details. It suffers, however, from some defects. The organization of his material is often clumsy, and the outlines of his filing cards are sometimes all too apparent. The book would have been improved by more careful editing, the elimination of repetitions, and general pruning. The writing is often very stodgy. He claims that it is impossible to discover quite how effective the indoctrination was at the lower levels of the army, but he could have used the files of the *Feldpostprüfstellen* and the *Parteikanzlei* in an attempt to see how satisfied the army and the party were with their work.

This book is a significant contribution to our understanding of the Third *Reich*, and of the history of the relations between the German army and the state.

*Simon Fraser University*

MARTIN KITCHEN

GEORG JOACHIM RHETIKUS, 1514-1574: EINE BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHIE. Volume III, BRIEFWECHSEL. By *Karl Heinz Burmeister*. (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler Verlag. 1968. Pp. x, 206. DM 77.)

WITH this volume of correspondence, Karl Heinz Burmeister completes his biography of Joachim Rheticus, the Swiss physician, polymath, and pupil of Copernicus. (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 1030). It is, as admirers of Burmeister's earlier books on Sebastian

Münster will have anticipated, a fine piece of work, meticulous in scholarship, informative to specialist and general reader alike (the Latin letters are also given in German translation). Rheticus owes his place in intellectual history almost exclusively to his *Narratio prima* of the Copernican astronomy. But he was also skilled in geography, mathematics, mineralogy, and chemistry, in touch with most of the notable astronomers of his day, fascinated by the nature and interconnections of things. The fifty-one letters gathered in this volume give evidence of the multiplicity of his interests. Some letters are prefaces, several explore technical matters, a few touch on personal problems, including the criminally homosexual affair that caused his dismissal from the University of Leipzig in 1550. His numerous letters from Cracow, where he settled as a physician in 1554, reflect his eagerness to remain in touch with developments in the various sciences, particularly with the Paracelsan school of medicine, a new wave which, he felt, could be understood only by mastering the founder's entire corpus of philosophical and scientific writings. His last letters yield a few tempting glimpses of the works he had in hand—works that were never printed and the manuscripts of which are lost. Writing to Peter Ramus in 1568, he referred to a book outlining “a new approach to natural philosophy, one that dispenses with the writings of all the ancients and proceeds from nothing but observation of nature itself.” It would be fascinating to learn more. But the letters, like the man himself, only rarely lift the curtain on this wide-ranging, deep, and perceptive Renaissance mind.

*Indiana University*

GERALD STRAUSS

CRITICS OF THE ITALIAN WORLD, 1530–1560: ANTON FRANCESCO DONI, NICOLÒ FRANCO, & ORTENSIO LANDO. By *Paul F. Grendler*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 282. \$10.00.)

THIS book is a study of the life and writings of three minor figures of the early sixteenth century: Anton Francesco Doni (1513–74), Nicolò Franco (1515–70), and Ortensio Lando (1512–55?). All three were literary products of a time when an increasingly active press encouraged new kinds of popular vernacular literature, heralded by *Are-tino*, which focused intense, lively, and often scurrilous attacks on all aspects of Italian society and culture. Instead of regarding these men, as most literary scholars have done, as literary adventurers, fascinated with the publicity they could gain from their pens, Grendler sees them as critics who were sensitive to what was happening to the Italian world about them and whose criticism reflects the extent to which the Renaissance world was falling apart. The core of this book consists of chapters on certain common themes running throughout their writings which illustrate this point: political, moral, and social criticism; religious restlessness; rejection of humanist notions of learning and education; and their own utopian alternatives. In each case, the scheme of the author is to set up a Renaissance world view as represented in leading fifteenth-century humanists, and then to show how these ideas were rejected in the writings of the critics.

Traditional criticism of these three writers has tended to dismiss them as at best third-raters, both as thinkers and as writers; and there is nothing in this book to reverse that judgment. In fact, the author does not discuss their literary qualities at all; and what few summary judgments he brings himself to make about the quality of their thought only further confirms this tradition. They are no doubt symptomatic of what was happening in their society, but unfortunately that alone does not make them provocative as critics; nor is it clear that they brought any fresh perspectives to the criticism of their times. The text consists partly of lengthy summaries of some of their major

works, and much of it is very dreary stuff. Nevertheless, Grendler has done a conscientious task of relating their criticism to ideas and conditions of their times. He has also sifted out a considerable amount of biographical information, especially welcome for Doni and Lando; and he has tracked down their very rare publications, which are listed in appendixes along with libraries here and abroad where they can be found.

*Johns Hopkins University*

RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE

ISTRUZIONI E RELAZIONI DEGLI AMBASCIATORI GENOVESI. Volume VII, SPAGNA (1745-1797). Edited by *Raffaele Ciasca*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1968. Pp. xv, 423. L. 5,000.)

IN 1815 the Congress of Vienna not only restored the House of Savoy in Piedmont, but assigned it a state it had long sought to acquire, the former Republic of Genoa. In this and other volumes of his series, Raffaele Ciasca has documented the struggle sustained by the venerable old Republic of Genoa to conserve its independence and territorial integrity. The volume at hand ends with the transformation of the old republic into a satellite republic of France, the Ligurian, in June 1797. Later, in 1805, France annexed the revolutionized republic.

The most intriguing documents in the book are those covering the years from Genoa's entry into the War of the Austrian Succession to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Those falling in the period of the French Revolution are few in number and of relatively little interest. Volume VI (Spain) of the series, which I reviewed for this journal (*AHR*, LXXIV [Oct. 1968], 212), showed how in May 1745 Genoa reluctantly abandoned neutrality and entered the War on the side of France and Spain to prevent Piedmont from taking the Mark of Finale from it.

How the Genoese regarded the Piedmontese as their mortal enemies emerges from the present as well as the preceding volume. One can read of the "cupidity" of the King of Piedmont who aspires to "universal monarchy over Italy," or of the destruction of Genoa threatened by the "insatiable ambition of the Court of Turin." As the Genoese feared, they were abandoned to Piedmont and Austria soon after they entered the War. The capitulation of Genoa to the Austrians on September 6, 1746, the great popular insurrection against the Austrians on December 5, 1746, the siege of Genoa in 1747, and the conclusion of peace in 1748 are all reflected in the collection. Genoa retained Finale and survived. But the Republic's years, clearly, were numbered.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

DONALD A. LIMOLI

THE ANABAPTISTS AND THE CZECH BRETHREN IN MORAVIA 1526-1628: A STUDY OF ORIGINS AND CONTACTS. By *Jarold Knox Zeman*. [Studies in European History, Number 20.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1969. Pp. 407. 70 gls.)

A DETAILED monograph describing the contacts between the Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia is a noteworthy addition to the historical literature on the early Reformation. Professor Zeman's competence to treat such a subject cannot be questioned. He has solid training in history and theology; his linguistic equipment is no less satisfactory. The material used by him is primarily historical, but whenever he found it necessary to give attention to doctrinal niceties he did so successfully and convincingly.

The years 1526–1628, mentioned in the title, are important landmarks in the history of the two religious groups, but they would be somewhat misleading if left without comment. The Unity of the Czech Brethren existed throughout that period, but it had close contacts with the Anabaptists only for some three years following their arrival in southern Moravia in 1526. What followed the failure of negotiations for a merger was far less significant than the keen search for cooperation in 1526–1528.

As a matter of fact, Zeman's meticulous exploration of religious life in Moravia begins approximately in 1520. No serious student of the early Reformation can view the second chapter of his book as a digression from the main topic. Although politically and administratively linked with Bohemia, Moravia reacted differently, in many instances, when the first wave of the new movement reached it. It was by no means accidental that the writings of Ulrich Zwingli had avid readers in Moravia, whereas their effects in Bohemia were faint and unimpressive. Similarly, while Moravia granted refuge to the Anabaptists, they were not tolerated in Bohemia and their presence there was ephemeral.

Two chapters that follow the description of the Moravian scene around 1520 should be regarded as the essential portion of Zeman's monograph. As we possess far more information concerning the Unity, it was not necessary for him to consult primary sources for its history. On the other hand, he drew heavily from both unprinted and published materials pertaining to the Anabaptists in Moravia. The central figure among them was Balthasar Hubmaier, and the third chapter has been devoted to him. The author has been particularly intrigued by the question of why Hubmaier, not feeling safe in his homeland, chose Moravia. With the same attention to detail that we encounter in the chapter on Hubmaier, Zeman has treated the attempts of the refugees to escape persecution and to establish connection with other religious groups in Moravia, especially the Czech Brethren, who also lacked legal protection and depended for their safety on the good will of the wealthy landowners. The literary and historical analysis of the available records of negotiations for a merger, as given in two sections of the fourth chapter, are the best examples of the author's concern for accuracy and precision.

Conceived and presented as a critical monograph, the book will most likely meet with a warmer reception among specialists than general readers. The section on historical topography, which Professor Jaroslav Pelikan characterizes in his preface as one of the most useful features of this book, will help any student of the Anabaptist movement to identify the place names recorded in Anabaptist sources. Unlike some earlier authors, Zeman does not treat the Anabaptists in Moravia as a single body but records carefully the differences between the Hutterites and the non-communitarian groups. The wealth of details, topographical and biographical, included in the sixth chapter is remarkable and should be gratefully acknowledged.

*University of Pennsylvania*

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

THE LAST CRUSADE. By *William B. Munson*. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Book Company. 1969. Pp. vii, 152. \$5.00.)

THE title of this work is slightly misleading, for one seldom associates the term "crusade" with the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict of the late seventeenth century, but one can hardly question the importance of its subject matter. After such recent works as J. Stoye's *The Siege of Vienna* (1964) and T. M. Barker's *Double Eagle and Crescent* (1967), it was timely that the post-1683 developments should also receive some

attention. Munson makes no mention of these and other recent works, yet his study is, in a way, a sequel to these accounts, for it is a history of Ottoman foreign relations between 1683 and 1699.

Having made this his aim, Munson has executed it rather skillfully by drawing heavily on the great syntheses of Hammer, Zinkeisen, and Jorga, and by going through several documentary collections, contemporary accounts, and unpublished reports. The result is a brief, clear, and useful Western view of the diplomatic intrigues and peace efforts behind this gigantic conflict.

While Munson's work is a positive contribution to the history of Habsburg-Ottoman relations, one must also point to some of its shortcomings. The most notable among these are the author's failure to integrate his discussion of the military and diplomatic aspects of this struggle; his rather cavalier treatment of Thököly's (Tekeli) role and of Hungarian affairs in general; and his haphazard use of personal and place names, which space limitation does not permit me to illustrate. In view of the region's chaotic linguistic scene much of the latter may still be overlooked (along with a few unimportant errors of fact), but such mistakes as the author's constant reference to Prince M. Apaffy (Apafy) as Apasy (a misreading of the German "f" for "s") is annoying. He could have avoided this and many other mistakes by consulting at least some of the relevant works of Hungarian historiography, a number of which are available in German (for example, the works of I. Acsády, A. Károlyi, K. Thaly, F. Salamon).

These shortcomings notwithstanding, Munson's work should be a useful aid in the study of Southeastern Europe and European diplomacy. But the lack of an index and maps makes its use somewhat difficult.

Duquesne University

STEVEN BELA VARDY

HUNGARY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE DECLINE OF ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. By Béla K. Király. [East Central European Studies of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 295. \$9.75.)

THIS is a perceptive and most useful supplement to Henry Marczali's classic studies, one of which, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, is well known in the English-speaking world. Király's tightly organized and lucid book focuses on the decline of enlightened absolutism, and its replacement by an alliance between the Habsburg dynasty and the feudal estates in Hungary. Based on extensive research in archival materials and secondary sources, the author has given a new interpretation of the "crisis of 1790," long considered the point of departure in Hungary's modern history. The analytical presentation of the main theme comes in the second half of the work, which the author begins by describing the constitutional structure, demographic aspects, ethnic composition, social strata, administrative, legal, ecclesiastic, and military institutions of the kingdom. Much of the explanation of the stratification of society, the interrelationship of its different segments, and the functioning of the institutional framework in eighteenth-century Hungary has not been hitherto available in English. There is much information in the footnotes, some of which could have been included, perhaps even elaborated on, in the text.

The crisis of the Habsburg realm was caused by a complex interlocking of international and domestic factors: the French Revolution, the Turkish War, the pressure of Prussia, the uprising in the Austrian Netherlands, the unrest among the peasants, and the feudal revolt in royal Hungary. Its internal roots could be traced to the later

years of the reign of Joseph II, but it was only upon the monarch's death that all strata, religious denominations, and ethnic communities seemed to approach the stage of ferment. In this unfolding crisis, nipped in the bud as a consequence of the Austrian-Prussian agreement in the summer of 1790, the dynasty and the *bene possessionati* (the well-to-do gentry), which led the lesser nobility's bid for political power, were the decisive forces. However, since neither of these powers envisioned a radical modification of the social system, the turmoil could be settled in a compromise reached by the court and the gentry at the expense of the underprivileged classes. The essence of the compromise was a retreat of enlightened absolutism to the status quo of pre-Josephine days and the confirmation of the reactionary domination of the Hungarian domestic scene by the gentry for another generation when a second, much deeper crisis of the feudal system would take shape in the era of reform. In Király's view, the traditional framework of society proved to be sufficiently stable to resist the forces of change in late eighteenth-century Hungary; this meant that the feudal revolt was bound to fail. Yet the challenge presented by those in favor of change foreshadowed in embryonic form the aspirations of the reform generation of the early nineteenth century. This was possible because of four basic changes that occurred in the eighteenth century which the author regards as "one of the most dynamic hundred years in the nation's entire history." The repopulation of the country changed Hungary's ethnic composition and also resulted in the shift of the economy from the periphery toward the center; the creation of semimodern government agencies generated centralizing and modernizing trends which led to an awakening of all segments of society and a re-evaluation of their respective social and political function; an agrarian boom stimulated by recurrent warfare and increase in population but not accompanied by industrialization contributed to the worsening of the condition of the serfs and the dynasty's colonial policy toward Hungary; finally, a national revival pregnant with progressive thought stimulated the spread of both enlightened ideas and a literary-cultural renaissance.

This superficial enumeration rather than evaluation of the main threads of the rich texture of Király's book cannot do justice to his provocative yet sober scholarship. Several appendixes including charts, statistics, documents, a glossary, biographical register, and bibliography illustrate and substantiate the text. Inconsistencies and errors are minor and do not detract from the merits of a most informative book.

*University of Denver*

GEORGE BARANY

IZ ISTORII RUSSKOI OBNCHESTVENNOI MYSLI XVIII STOLETHIA: M. M. SHCHERBATOV [From the History of Russian Social Thought in the 18th Century: M. M. Shcherbatov]. By I. A. Fedosov. ([Moscow:] Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1967. Pp. 258.)

PRINCE M. M. Shcherbatov (1733-1790) left an extensive literary legacy which includes a seven-volume history of Russia and numerous critical essays on various aspects of Russian internal and external policy in the eighteenth century. A vigorous defender of the interests of the gentry at the Legislative Commission of 1767, Shcherbatov later served Catherine II as Heraldmaster, President of the State Revenue College, Senator, and collaborator in the task of gathering and publishing historical materials. Disappointed by indifferent appointments and slow promotion, he abandoned official St. Petersburg and for more than a decade, in the privacy of his Moscow study, wrote a penetrating, often bitter critique of Catherine's policies, an appraisal of the significance of Petrine reforms, and a utopian novel. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century



did these works begin to appear in print. Few modern historians of eighteenth-century Russia have failed to make use of Shcherbatov's writings, but none has yet written a monograph which systematically traces the development of his political and social thought or the milieu in which it was developed.

Soviet scholars generally prefer rebellious peasants to fractious noblemen as subjects of their research; I. A. Fedosov, a member of the Historical Faculty of Moscow University, is the first to attempt a general study of Shcherbatov's life and works. His topical discussion is divided into three parts: public activity and historical writings, socio-economic program, and political views. He presents lengthy quotations from Shcherbatov against a stereotyped background borrowed mechanically from introductory Soviet textbooks. He focuses narrowly on the content of Shcherbatov's published writings, with scant attention either to the Russian environment or to general European problems. Indeed, his lone authority on "enlightened absolutism" is V. I. Lenin.

Regardless of the shortcomings of Fedosov's analysis, his work would nevertheless have been welcome had he made more extensive use of unpublished sources. When he writes that "comparatively little material was drawn from the central historical archives of Moscow and Leningrad, the State Historical Museum and the Archives of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR," he is stating a fact rather than indicating the availability of material. Conspicuously absent are two major primary sources—the collection of Shcherbatov papers (f. 1289) at the Moscow Central State Archive of Ancient Acts (TsGADA) and the Ermitazh Collection at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad. As for secondary sources, Fedosov does not even mention the work of L. V. Sretenskii, of the Yaroslavl Pedagogical Institute, who in recent years has published results of archival research concerning the extent and management of Shcherbatov's landholdings. This omission is the more striking in that, while constantly reminding his readers that Shcherbatov's world view was engendered by socio-economic conditions of the second half of the eighteenth century, he fails to apply his own conceptual framework specifically to Shcherbatov's case.

Smith College

JOAN Afferica

THE BEGINNINGS OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIA IN THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS I, 1835–1842. By *Richard Mowbray Haywood*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. xvii, 270. \$9.00.)

RICHARD Haywood's book focuses on the Tsarskoe Selo Railroad, Russia's first, and on the official discussions on the future of railway transport in that country which preceded and followed its construction. One may question the justification for devoting more than, say, a long article to the history of the "toy" railroad, seventeen miles long, which served, according to the famous quip of the Minister of Finance to connect St. Petersburg with a "tavern in Pavlovsk." Need much more be written about the first seven years of Russian railroad history, with which Mr. Haywood more generally concerns himself? His justification and thesis is that Russian railroad history of the 1830's shows a modernizing side to the conservative system of Nicholas I and of the man himself. The author correctly concludes that "Nicholas may not have built many versts of railways, but he did usher Russia into the Railway Age," although he does not substantiate this conclusion with a coverage of the years 1842–1855. The author overemphasizes the importance of Nicholas I in establishing the precedent of state initiative in railway construction, because after the Tsar's death, and for a third of a century thereafter, most of Russia's railway network was built through private initiative, both foreign and

domestic, and with guarantees of profits that Nicholas never gave. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did the state again assume major responsibility for the construction and operation of Russia's railroads.

Mr. Haywood's first chapter on the evolution and weaknesses of the Russian water and road transport system is excellent, and is in some ways the most valuable part of the book. Chapter II, however, is not much more than a summary of the work of the Soviet scholar V. S. Virginsky, and not of great significance, except to demonstrate, as others have done more fully, that the development of sophisticated Russian inventions created in this early period was thwarted by the backwardness of the economy. In the third chapter, as elsewhere, Mr. Haywood makes good use of obscure but valuable contemporary periodicals and books which he found in European and American libraries. His view of the dearth of private capital in Russia during the 1830's can be modified by other evidence, as well as by his own facts, which indicate that of 700 stockholders in the Tsarskoe Selo Railroad, 641 resided in Russia, and "more than a few large stockholders were merchants." Chapter V broadens slightly our picture of the debates on the St. Petersburg-Moscow Railroad with a few interesting items from documents in Austrian and Soviet archives, but the full details on the history of Russia's earliest railroads still remain locked in the latter, at least for non-Soviet scholars.

Perhaps the greatest deficiency of Mr. Haywood's book is its awkward organization. He concludes with two long chapters on the background and planning of the St. Petersburg-Moscow Railroad, and then, at the point of the decision to build this line, in 1842, his history stops, stalled, as it were, midway down the tracks. Had Mr. Haywood elected to revise and expand his dissertation (Columbia, 1966) so as to complete the history of the construction and early operation of the famous "Nicholas" line, his book might have achieved greater balance and importance. Although there are short treatments of this subject in Westwood's study and other recent works, there is no full-scale work in English. All we get from Mr. Haywood is a thin "epilogue" of a few pages, certainly the weakest of the foundations upon which he bases his conclusions, which apply to the reign of Nicholas I as a whole.

*New York University*

WILLIAM L. BLACKWELL

THE RISE AND FALL OF T. D. LYSENKO. By *Zhores A. Medvedev*. Translated by *I. Michael Lerner*, with the editorial assistance of *Lucy G. Lawrence*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xvii, 284. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Lerner, the distinguished geneticist who translated and edited Medvedev's study, working from a microfilmed typescript, calls the story of Soviet genetics "perhaps the most bizarre chapter in the history of modern science." It may be, though it will not seem extraordinary to historians who recall what happened to their discipline and its practitioners in the Soviet Union. The writing of this account by Medvedev, his circulation of drafts among his fellow scientists, the revision of his work in response to their suggestions, and his inclusion, later, of developments after 1962, are almost as unusual as the substantive account. So, too, was the manner in which Lerner learned of Medvedev and his work and, by means prudently not told, acquired a copy of the updated and revised manuscript. That Medvedev has not been able to see the book and that his American royalties are being held in escrow for him give added touches of the bizarre.

In the first part of the book, which traces the origins of the controversy and its development to 1941, Medvedev appears as a historian devoted to an idealized Lenin

and the bitter enemy of Stalin. To the former he attributes the inspiration and progressiveness of Soviet science while charging the latter with being the prime cause of a retrogression extending beyond genetics. He dates the struggle in genetics from 1929, noting that the notorious Lysenko and the less familiar Prezent did not enter the controversy until 1935, when it ceased to be a scientific debate and became "the tragedy of Soviet science under the conditions of the personality cult." The causal explanation is simplistic, but the tragedy was real both for persons—beginning with N. I. Vavilov who led the fight against Lysenko and pseudo-science until his arrest by the NKVD in 1940—and for science.

Medvedev describes himself as an onlooker from 1946 to 1962, but the production and circulation of his manuscripts in 1961–62 transformed him into a courageous participant at a time when Lysenko and his followers still had strong support from the party bosses. As Medvedev himself says, his manuscript became one of the elements in the debate and served as ammunition for many of his colleagues. His scathing, detailed evaluation of the practical applications of Lysenkoism must have been highly explosive.

The third, final, and shortest part of the book carries the account to 1966—into the period in which Medvedev claims to have been a participant. He concludes that Lysenkoism, though weakened by being unmasked, was far from liquidated, and that its ill effects would long persist. He also concludes, quite justly, that the withdrawal of political support from Lysenko by Khrushchev's successors would have been ineffectual except for the heroic struggle by many Soviet scientists and others against the unholy alliance of scientific charlatans, time-servers, and politicians. Medvedev's attempt to explain how it all happened are in consonance with his views on Lenin and Stalin, and so add little to an outsider's understanding. The contrary, however, is true of the body of the work.

*Syracuse University*

WARREN B. WALSH

## Near East

ARISTOTLE AND THE ARABS: THE ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION IN ISLAM. By *F. E. Peters*. [New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, Number 1.] (New York: New York University Press. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 303. \$9.50.)

THE title of this book suggests a comparison with F. Van Steenberghen's *Aristotle in the West*, but the two books are different in scope and style. While Van Steenberghen achieved a beautiful unity in narrating what was more or less a single movement of transmission over a century, Peters treats many movements within some seven centuries of medieval Islam, and his work, although narrative in form, takes on an encyclopedic aspect. It is true that the subject is limited in several sensible ways: "Arabs" means Muslims and Christians writing in Arabic, not Jews writing in Arabic or Muslims writing in Persian; the Aristotelian tradition in science is excluded; the oriental translations and commentaries on the Aristotelian corpus are detailed in another work by the author, *Aristoteles Arabus* (1968). Still, this leaves a vast ground to be covered. Beginning with the heritage of Aristotle in later antiquity, eastern Christianity, and pre-Islamic Iran, the book proceeds to the Baghdad translations from Greek to Arabic and their effects on philosophical education ("transmission") and on general literary culture ("diffusion"). A long chapter then de-

scribes the traces of Aristotle in the main philosophical and theological schools and individuals. An epilogue compares the impact of Aristotle on the Near East and the medieval West, and an appendix lists alphabetically and describes the most important primary sources in Arabic and Syriac: doxographies, biobibliographies, and other such material.

The work is impressive in its comprehensiveness, with lively but necessarily brief narratives and comments on a multitude of topics. Many interesting generalizations are made, but some are doubtful or misleading. For instance, "*falsafah* in its turn created Muslim theology" and "*Kalām*, natural theology, is the direct result of the working of the philosophical leaven in the body of Islamic thought." *Kalām* is not well defined as "natural theology"; it is rather dogmatic or revelational theology. And, since the earliest school of theologians, the Mu'tazila, were historically regarded as practitioners of *kalām* (a classification on which Peters is unclear), *kalām* originated before Islamic *falsafah*—whatever Greek or Christian philosophical influences contributed to it.

The footnotes, endnotes, and appendix contain a very rich annotated bibliography. In view of its potential value as a work of reference, it is a pity that the book is quite inaccurate in detail. Many Arabic words, names, and titles are faultily transcribed, and a number of English words are misprinted. Publications since 1962 are seldom listed or used. This makes the book already out of date on some subjects, such as the Mu'tazila, our knowledge of whom has been transformed by the recently available texts of 'Abd al-Jabbār. We must hope for a revised edition in which Peters and the New York University Press will produce a more finished piece and give full value to what they have done already.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORGE F. HOURANI

TURKEY. By Roderic H. Davison. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1968. Pp. x, 181. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

PROFESSOR DAVISON'S work on *Reform in the Ottoman Empire* established him clearly as one of the leading historians of Turkey in this country. This time, he has accomplished an even more remarkable feat by providing a concise, reliable, and extremely well-written general history of Turkey. The introductory chapter presents a panorama of the country with its mixture of modern and traditional elements. The next three chapters deal with the period of Turkish settlement in Anatolia and the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire. Chapters V–VII are devoted to the progress of Westernization from Selim III to the Young Turks. The two final chapters are devoted to the republic under Atatürk and to developments since his death including the recent transition to democracy. The bibliography is no mere mechanical listing of titles but rather an essay of critical comment written in smooth and pleasing prose. The index doubles as a glossary by giving in bold face the page where each Turkish term is first defined in the text.

The main thread of the narrative is political, but due attention is given to religious, economic, social, and cultural themes. The author makes use of vivid and significant illustration rather than sententious generalization. The viewpoint is sympathetic but not uncritical; judgments are carefully thought out and well balanced. In short, Professor Davison has written a volume that can confidently be placed in the hands

of any beginner and which a more advanced student still will read with profit and pleasure.

*Columbia University*

DANKWART A. RUSTOW

FROM WAR TO WAR: THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFRONTATION, 1948-1967. A STUDY OF THE CONFLICT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF COERCION IN THE CONTEXT OF INTER-ARAB AND BIG POWER RELATIONS. By *Nadav Safran*. (New York: Pegasus. 1969. Pp. xvii, 22-464. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.95.)

THIS book is a well-conceived and readable survey of the Arab-Israeli confrontation during the two decades following the establishment of Israel in 1948. Employing the topical method, the author analyzes this central issue in the context of the broader conflicts which have embroiled the Middle East, namely, the rivalries among the Arab states and the intrigues or involvements of the Great Powers. Beyond these three interrelated problems, the arms race in the area is discussed, as well as the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Six Day War. The main contribution of the book is the well-documented analysis of the "arms buildup," involving defense expenditures and the evolution of the armed forces. This material is new and hard to come by, for governments are reticent on matters pertaining to national armaments.

Professor Safran is at home in the literature of his subject, and his reasoned analysis is keen throughout and generally convincing. However, the difficulties encountered in interpreting recent events cannot be surmounted. Insufficiency of reliable data leads one to base conclusions on inferences and assumptions which may or may not stand the test of firmer evidence. Moreover, the very process of reasoning tends to exaggerate the role of the rational in probing motivations and explaining policies. A few references will illustrate these difficulties.

The analysis of the period prior to the Six Day War, written before June 1967, rules out the likelihood of a deliberate war. But war did occur. The author ascribes this mainly to "an elaborate self-deception" on the part of Nasser, and his reasoning makes sense. Yet, this is an assumption which cannot at this time be fully substantiated. Again, the logic of the war and its consequences appear to the author to presage diminished Great Power interference and de-escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Here, too, the author's reasoning is impressive, but the situation may be governed by emotion rather than logic or reason. Similarly, the provocative behavior of the Soviet Union during the crisis of May 1967 is explained by the supposed interception of an Israeli "contingency plan" to attack Syria and the desire to shield the leftist regime of that country, as well as to involve Egypt in the effort through a dramatic but token demonstration. One can argue with equal cogency that the Russians fabricated the charge of troop concentrations against Syria, as they had done before, and that they gave Nasser the head in the belief that the Israelis would react feebly or ineffectively.

These comments are meant to underscore the difficulties inherent in writing recent history rather than to detract from the value of the book. The author is fully aware of these difficulties, and he cautions the reader that a great deal of the evidence is as yet unavailable. The book may, therefore, be viewed as a preliminary analysis. As such, it is challenging and stimulating.

*City College of the City University of New York*

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

## Africa

THE MODERN HISTORY OF EGYPT. By P. J. Vatikiotis. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xv, 512. \$9.50.)

EGYPT SINCE THE REVOLUTION. Edited by P. J. Vatikiotis. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. 195. \$6.95.)

THE two books under review, one written and the other edited by P. J. Vatikiotis, complement each other well. Both, in different ways, are useful additions to the increasingly voluminous literature on modern Egypt.

*The Modern History of Egypt* concludes with the possibly depressing thought that the inheritance from the past may well be more important in shaping Egypt's destiny than may present or future ideology. The "problem of legacies" compounds and immensely complicates the task of Egypt's revolutionary rulers, the task of creating a modern nation-state from a civilization as old as time. The last 160 years of Egypt's history constitute the bulk of this study. Apart from some repetitiveness and a certain unevenness in presentation, the story is ably told. Vatikiotis' study, unlike most recent works on Egypt, skillfully incorporates the findings of indigenous students of Egyptian society, a welcome development indeed.

As part of the Praeger Asia-Africa Series, the book begins appropriately with a "lands and people" chapter. Vatikiotis goes on to a chronicle-like summary of the twelve centuries that have passed since Egypt became Arabized and Islamized, a development that Vatikiotis considers to have momentous consequences. The impact of the West in the form of the French expedition to Egypt is then discussed; in this treatment, the author overdoes the political, administrative, and cultural contribution of the French to Egypt, as well as the Egyptian role in ending the occupation.

This introductory material sets the stage for the appearance of the Muhammad Ali dynasty, which ruled Egypt until 1952. The course of Egypt's history to the British occupation is well told; it is disconcerting, however, to read of Muhammad Ali's reforms without being told of the all-important introduction of perennial irrigation. On the other hand, Vatikiotis deserves praise for a balanced portrait of the Khedive Isma'il and for unraveling the threads of the Arabi period, which saw both rebellion and British occupation. The occupation period, the emergence into independence in 1922, and the subsequent search for stability and security to 1952 constitute the bulk of the work, which is concluded by an analysis of the Egyptian revolutionary period prior to 1967.

Better than most works on the subject, Vatikiotis' chronology is supplemented by analysis of the ideological currents present from the beginning of the dynasty of Muhammad Ali through the revolutionary period. As a result of the analysis it becomes easier to account for the instability of parliamentary life in particular and of political life in general. Torn between secular and Islamic currents, Egypt looked in many directions for its destiny. That destiny is now called Arab socialism; whether it will succeed as an ideology of change is, at the least, in doubt.

The second book under review, *Egypt Since the Revolution*, sheds some light on that prognosis. The first section of the volume deals with the overwhelming problems of the economic sector of the society. Bent Hansen deals with the difficulties of planning for economic growth and concludes that growth in Egypt will be a function of successful restraints on public consumption. Two essays deal with agriculture: Roger Owen provides a useful historical setting for the agricultural growth rate in



the first years of the revolution; M. Rhiad el Ghonemy analyzes agricultural development with special reference to changes in land tenure, the development of cooperatives, and the controls over credit and the trading system. A more general review of the economy by Gallal Amin suggests that only after 1956 (with the nationalization decrees after the Suez crisis), and more especially after 1961 (with the socialization decrees after the breakup of the United Arab Republic), was there a real break with the past.

Part II deals with political developments. In a provocative essay Maxime Rodinson develops his thesis that the revolutionary leaders came to power committed to democratic ideas but that events rather than ideology forced them to move towards a rational system of government, that is, one in which "democratization, as an internal political objective was deliberately sacrificed" (p. 100), one which would be divested of a pluralistic parliamentary facade. Within the single-party model, Rodinson insists that there continues to be political competition within the regime and in the relations of the regime with its constituencies. Throughout its life the military regime has stuck to its twin goals of independence and modernization.

Malcolm Kerr deals with Egypt's foreign policy and addresses himself to the question of whether ideology or pragmatic national interests dominate this area of activity. He opts for the latter as he assesses specific Egyptian actions in pursuit of such goals as consolidating Egyptian independence and seeking out international economic aid. An Egyptian commentator, Khaled Mohieddin, in a short essay challenges this opinion and Kerr's implication that Egypt, in pursuit of its policy, has "consciously or unconsciously" been led "to identify its interests with those of the USSR, and even to serve the latter by proxy" (p. 135).

Part III deals with cultural developments, a subject rarely treated in English. A distinguished Egyptian literary figure, Louis Awad, has written a dazzling essay on arts and letters before and after the revolution. Rich in literary allusions—attesting to Awad's grasp of both his own and Western culture—the essay is dominated by the theme that Egyptian history, especially its revolutionary periods in 1880, 1919, and 1952, has never been "metaphysical." Rather it has been "concrete, practical, soberly realistic and highly secular" (p. 144). Especially important is its secular quality, which Awad sees as the safeguard against "counter-revolutionary principles" that never took root in Egypt and that always manifested themselves in "insensate acts of violence, individual assassinations and irrational suicidal creeds" (p. 146). He has in mind here the tyranny of both Right and Left. David Cowan, a Western student of Arab literature, sensitively deals also with literary developments since the revolution; in a series of thumbnail sketches he takes up in more detail the works of a few of the writers mentioned in Awad's more panoramic view. An excellent annotated bibliographical essay by Derek Hopwood on works about the Egyptian revolution concludes this series of illuminating essays. The conference out of which they emerge must have been a lively one indeed.

*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

RICHARD P. MITCHELL

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF GHANA. By *Kwamina B. Dickson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 379. \$23.50.)

DR. Dickson of the Department of Geography at the University of Ghana has provided one of the few but, one hopes, growing number of valuable historical geographical studies of African nations. He uses both sequential and cross-sectional

approaches to present the evolution of the cultural and economic landscape of Ghana from the earliest times to the years preceding World War II.

Part I briefly outlines the arrival and distribution of ethnic groups in the earliest times plus the crystallization of tribes and states and the development of overlordship until about 1700. Dickson credits Professor Oliver Davies as the source for his summaries of the period to 1200, noting that the basic structure and composition of Ghana's present population were set in the Iron Age. In this and the other three major divisions of the book an effort is made to picture for successive periods a variety of economic and settlement patterns. The detail in which such topics as trade, transport, agriculture, secondary activities, population, and settlement patterns are covered increases substantially over the several cross-sectional periods selected.

Much of the data for Part II, focusing on the period around 1700, is extracted from William Bosman's *A new and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, published in 1704; it is restructured with considerable skill under the headings previously noted. The last chapter of this part brings the story to 1850, concentrating on the rise of Ashanti power; the treatment is somewhat abbreviated for such an important period.

Part III examines development in major sectors in the years from about 1850 to 1936. A particularly interesting analysis of why economic development up to 1900 was so painfully slow is given in Chapter IX. Dickson concludes that Britain made prime mistakes in its dealings with the Ashanti, who might otherwise have contributed more effectively to economic development.

In Part IV the account is brought to the late 1930's, by which time the author considers that nearly all of the major elements of the country's human geography prior to independence had appeared. Dickson has essayed a formidable task and brought it off commendably. Two factors may make the volume largely a reference book: one, the great range of topics considered, and two, despite the value of the maps, the exceptionally high price, which is, incidentally, \$5.50 above the price in Britain.

New York, New York

WILLIAM A. HANCE

TANGANYIKA UNDER GERMAN RULE, 1905-1912. By *John Iliffe*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 235. \$6.00.)

Less than fifteen years ago a former governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell, addressed a scholarly gathering in Washington, D.C., and boldly asserted that "the forty-two years that I have spent in Africa . . . cover a large part of the history of sub-Saharan Africa, for it can hardly be said to extend much further back than about 1870." (Sir Philip Mitchell, "Africa and the West in Historical Perspective," in *Africa Today*, ed. C. Grove Haines [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955], 3.) In the interval since 1955 literally hundreds of African, European, Asian, and American students of history have been engaged in proving how wrong the Sir Philips of this world have been. The field of African history has witnessed a greater blossoming perhaps than any other field of historical study. Armed with tape recorders, archaeological tools, carbon-dating equipment, blood-sample kits, seed boxes, and training in one or more of Africa's eight hundred languages, they have been creatively forging new means of historical reconstruction to compensate for the paucity of written sources on Africa's past. Probably no group of African historians has been collectively more vigorous and productive in this endeavor than the cadre of young scholars associated with Terence

Ranger at the University College, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. John Iliffe's credentials as one of Ranger's "rangers" have been firmly established. Through his own research and his encouragement of advanced history students at Dar es Salaam he has provided a fresh approach to the reinterpretation of the Maji Maji uprising of 1905 and other protest movements against European colonial rule.

The present volume, *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912*, attempts to re-analyze the relationship between Africans and Europeans following the Maji Maji uprising and to demonstrate that "colonial rule cannot be seen as a process of European initiative and African response." Iliffe argues, indeed, that the post-1905 colonial policies of the German administration were responses to African initiative, and that the most significant arena of analysis should be the changes taking place within African societies themselves.

In making his case, Iliffe presents us with two interrelated interpretive essays. The first, which is the main body of the volume, draws upon materials presented in his dissertation at Cambridge University. Making extensive use of archival materials in Potsdam, London, and Dar es Salaam, he weaves a fascinating story of the multi-lateral conflict among various political parties and the Colonial Office in Berlin, the Governor and his administrators in Dar es Salaam, and the variety of missionaries, settlers, and traders who made up the European community. Iliffe's research constitutes a macrostudy of political decision-making, which makes the implementation (or lack of implementation) of colonial policies at the village and tribal levels more meaningful. It may be that the microstudies, such as Ralph Austen's research on the haya as well as other studies currently underway, will demonstrate that Iliffe's generalizations are inadequate for particular areas of Tanzania. As Iliffe notes, however, the Germans in 1905-1912 were not dealing with a monolithic African society, but rather with members of more than 120 relatively distinct ethnic groupings. And Iliffe's overview of the main lines of controversy during this period (Indian commerce, railway construction, labor regulation, and settler self-government) presents a useful point of departure for future studies of German colonialism. Moreover, although he may not have intended this, his study reminds us that in the desire of the new African historians to stake out claims on "their" African tribes, historians may collectively be ignoring the retired colonial official, whose reminiscences, diaries, and other mementos may provide as valuable a source of history as the highly selective memories of African elders. Indeed, Iliffe seems to ignore his enthusiasm for oral history by assuming that one elicits oral data only from Africans regarding other Africans. He ignores the fact that descendants of German officials, missionaries, and settlers have almost total recall regarding the exploits of their ancestors. He seems to have ignored, too, the fact that African memories of the German period in Tanzania are still vivid today, though somewhat romanticized.

Unfortunately, in the main body of this work Iliffe almost undermines entirely his thesis of initiative and response by relegating Africans to a very marginal role. He actually goes from page 29 to page 150 (in a text only 210 pages long) without mentioning a single African by name. Even the Indian population receives greater attention. In the last three chapters he attempts to recover himself. He seems, unfortunately, to engage in a case of "overkill." One can agree that by the late 1940's and early 1950's there was a shift of power within African societies "from groups which sought to preserve the old structure to groups which sought to improve both the society and their own positions by utilizing novel opportunities." In the period from 1905 to 1912, however, African society was still being manipulated by Europeans.

African traders, priests, and clerks appeared because Europeans required Africans to fill these roles. Much of what Iliffe portrays as African initiative during the "age of improvement" was in fact a continuation of the religious, social, and economic conflicts within Arab and Arabized society, which antedated the European arrival by decades, if not centuries.

*Indiana University*

J. GUS LIEBENOW

AN ILLUSTRATED SOCIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA. By *Alan F. Hattersley*. (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema. 1969. Pp. x, 261. R12.50.)

PROFESSOR Hattersley has had a long and productive career as a teacher and a scholar in South Africa; his works on the history of Natal are widely quoted. Now in retirement, he has written on the country as a whole, and for a wider market. The result is a lavishly produced book divided into three parts: "The Netherlands Period: 1652-1795," "The Age of Immaturity: 1795-1849," and "The Age of Maturity: 1849-1910"; each part is divided into about ten chapters dealing with such topics as public affairs, towns, settlers, occupations, churches, and sports.

The author has collected and sorted a mass of information, but he does not satisfactorily explain his choice of periods or topics, nor does he establish the achievement of maturity in mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, he does not define social history. At first it appears that it is to be history with politics left out: "The vital stuff of history is composed not of political strife, legislative controversies or wars, but of the lives of ordinary citizens" (p. x). But later we are told that "Social history is a somewhat ambiguous border region where political, economic, and religious interests meet" (p. 160). These are not identical conceptions of social history. They may be reconcilable, but a lack of clarity about basic purpose has led the author to write chapters and paragraphs that are frequently without argument, each chapter being a box into which facts have been sorted.

The lack of argument and clear theme might be less serious if the book did not ignore recent changes in the writing of African history. Nonwhites are dealt with briefly, indeed even more cursorily than in the standard works now being criticized. This is social history with the majority left out, written in the hope of contributing to Anglo-Afrikaner conciliation: "Only in the social sphere can there be the healing recollection of joint enterprise, and the mellowing influence of a common heritage" (p. x). It is questionable whether wounds can be healed by recollection, even only those injuries done by whites to each other. Such recollection, if it were to be healing, would involve a highly selective plundering of the past, especially difficult in a country where the hand of that past is anything but dead.

This is an illustrated history: the author has taken much trouble and the publisher has gone to considerable expense to make use of materials by a number of artists. There are works in color by Samuel Daniell, William Burchell, H. C. de Meillon, G. F. Angas, W. H. F. L. Langschmidt, Thomas Baines, F. T. I'ons, Thomas Bowler, A. E. White, and H. Nicolls. There are monochrome plates by Peter Schenk, Peter Kolbe, E. V. Stade, Johannes Rach, Lady Anne Barnard, Sir Charles D'Oyly, Johannes Poortermans, Thomas Bowler, Charles Davidson Bell, Melton Prior, and Heinrich Ergsdorfer. Although one might question the selection of material, and especially the omission of photographs, the book does make available new illustrative material in a handsome way.

*Wesleyan University*

JEFFREY BUTLER

## Asia and the East

RADICAL NATIONALIST IN JAPAN: KITA IKKI, 1883-1937. By *George M. Wilson*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 37.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 230. \$7.00.)

HISTORIANS have often miscast Kita Ikki by giving him a prominent role in the play of events leading up to the Pacific War. Seeking Western analogues, they have sometimes found Kita's *Plan for the Reorganization of Japan*, written in 1919, a Japanese *Mein Kampf* that inspired "countless young militarists and other radical nationalists." They have depicted Kita as "the ideological father of Japanese fascism" and even as the source of "the earliest fascist thought in the world." He is seen as conspiring with—indeed, inspiring—the young officers' movement in the 1930's.

Such a portrayal both distorts and exaggerates Kita's significance. True, many of the young officers did read the *Plan*, and Kita was executed for his part in the young officers' insurrection in 1936. But, as George Wilson clearly shows, most of the young officers who read the *Plan* were critical of it, and Kita was only very indirectly involved in the February 26 uprising. He was executed either because the government mistakenly believed he was implicated or because it cynically sought to make an example of him for other radical thinkers. In fact, Mr. Wilson acknowledges that there is very little of importance to relate about Kita's activities during the entire decade preceding the insurrection!

It is not Wilson's intention to deflate the importance of his subject, although in some respects this is the result, but rather to correct the misunderstandings that have grown up about him. Wilson takes issue with those who have seen a fundamental change in Kita's thought from his early socialist essay and his history of the Chinese revolution to his later "fascist" writing. Stressing Kita's unswerving advocacy of social democracy, he dismisses the "fascist" label as "irrelevant" and prefers to place Kita on the left side of the political spectrum in order "to demonstrate the affinities between nationalist and communist radicals in post-World War I Japan, for in spite of their mutual animosity they were much closer to each other than either was to the conservatives or liberals." Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is a chapter on postwar historiography, which shows the confusion among Japanese scholars in their efforts to understand Kita's significance.

Kita attempted to reconcile revolutionary social aims with traditionalistic nationalism and socialist internationalism with Japanese imperialism. The effort to synthesize these conflicting themes was, inevitably, badly confused and self-contradictory. Occasionally the reader may feel that Wilson does not satisfactorily probe the sources of tension and conflicting motives in Kita's thought. Much still remains to be explained about Kita's baffling personality and, above all, about the activating social forces of the radical nationalism he represented; but Wilson's book does succeed in placing Kita in a truer perspective than we had hitherto seen him.

*University of Washington*

KENNETH B. PYLE

THE NADARS OF TAMILNAD: THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF A COMMUNITY IN CHANGE. By *Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.* [Sponsored by the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 314. \$8.75.)

A GENERAL modern history of South India has yet to be written. Studies into altogether



uncharted areas of inquiry on smaller topics, more local regions, and at lower planes have begun to produce "history from below." Another generation or two may pass, however, before such works give rise to a more truly comprehensive study. Within such a context, this work can be appreciated.

Robert Hardgrave has made an important contribution to our knowledge of South India. His work is significant as a pilot study—it breaks new ground. Its data are drawn largely from hitherto untapped documentary sources and from personal interviews. Caste histories, anthropological surveys, missionary memoirs, government and court records, political pamphlets, and private collections, especially the files of the Nadar Mahajana Sangam have been searched. One hundred or more formal interviews have been recorded and further field notes taken on casual conversations and observations.

Hardgrave's work is also new in its approach. Here is a study of a single caste, a community's growth to self-awareness and strength and its place within the structure of society over a century and a half. He follows its rise through three stages—labeled "parochial," "integrated," and "differentiated"—along a continuum from "traditional" to "modern" life. He does this by examining four specific localities: a village among the palmyras of Tiruchendur; the town of Kamudi in Ramnad; the city of Madura; and the city of Madras, the economic and political capital.

The "parochial" stage is set in Tiruchendur during the early nineteenth century. Here, considered by high-caste people as a most defiling and degraded of creatures, Nadars were mostly toddy-tappers, climbers of the palmyra. A few of them were Nadans or landholders; but all were severely depressed and suffered social disabilities. Struggles occurred between factions within the community. The "integrated" stage is best seen as it occurred in Ramnad. Here a rising Nadar trading community confronted a highly elaborate ranking of castes as a struggling minority. In their attempts to rise in social standing, commensurate with growing wealth, they suffered and fought, sometimes violently. They recognized that, despite diversities of wealth, culture, religion, occupation, and location, they were one people. Barriers of distance and status gave way to pride in common history. They gained a bias against caste as a system, with deep resentments against that which had for so long held them down. They began to share a common belief in progress, feeling that, through frugality and hard work, any man could, like those before him, "come up" in life. Of no small consequence in this was the conversion of a large proportion of Nadars to Christian faith. Yet, whether Christian or not, they became impatient of restraint. Finally, a stage of "differentiation" and "urbanization" emerges. No longer simple palmyra climbers nor petty landholders and traders, Nadars escaped the narrow confines of prescribed occupation and status. Having achieved their "break out" from subjection, they took ever greater varieties and levels of occupations and activities over ever-widening areas—in business, professions, and politics. The rise of Kamaraj to chief minister of Madras and president of the All-India Congress party brought fame to the caste and symbolized arrival. At the same time, political diffusion, disaffection, frustration, and alienation occurred among other, less successful elements of the community. Indeed, a nostalgia for British rule has accompanied feelings of futility and despair among the disappointed and disgruntled, those who have failed to achieve or to gain influence, visibility, and power.

Yet, because of the sweeping scope of the analyses attempted, perhaps because of limitations inherent in methodology, and, indeed, because of circumstances that seem unavoidable, this book is not a history—at least not by established standards of



the craft. It leaps across huge and unknown expanses of darkness, sometimes backward, forward, and back again, in order to fit or force samples and evidence to the model or to the central arguments. Validity or authenticity of documents often seem unquestioned. Citations occasionally lack dates. How oral tradition was tested is not sufficiently explained. Chronological imprecision and anachronistic phrasing are frequent. Conceptual precision is also questionable, especially in use of terms like "Hindu." Underlying assumptions become confused and, indeed, too often presume upon an uncritical acceptance of fashionable norms that, in such a pioneering work, deserve more explanation.

But Hardgrave, by training a political scientist, makes no pretensions at being a historian. Without historical guideposts, he has produced a work of great merit. He has convincingly showed us how a low caste transformed itself. If he also typifies the impatience and eagerness of young scholars, who cannot wait until all the careful detail work has been done (he has done much to exhaust his subject) and who must ask big questions and grasp at the colorful and dramatic and timely, then another generation may pick up what was overlooked. Until then, however, Hardgrave's work may stand—perhaps for a long time.

*University of Wisconsin*

ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG

POLITICS AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN SOUTH INDIA: THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT AND TAMIL SEPARATISM, 1916–1929. By *Eugene F. Irschick*. [Sponsored by the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. 414. \$9.75.)

MR. Irschick's study of the non-Brahman movement in Madras is a major contribution to our understanding of Tamil separatism, caste conflict, and the evolution of "backward caste" movements in general. Non-Brahman caste Hindus founded the Justice party in 1916 to oppose the home rule movement, which in Madras was dominated by Brahmans, and to seek British help in ending the near monopoly of Brahmans in the administration, higher education, and the legislative council. The British welcomed the Justice party, as they did other backward caste and Muslim organizations, as a counterpoise to the Indian National Congress. After the Justice party won the Madras legislative council elections of 1920 and 1923, it used its electoral success to expand employment and educational opportunities for non-Brahmans. Brahmans were bitter about the changes, but since the Congress boycotted the elections, they were unable to prevent anti-Brahman legislation and administrative orders.

In its preoccupation with jobs and in the absence of Congress opposition in the legislative council, the Justice party neglected untouchables, social reform, and its own organization. By 1925 Justice party leaders were complacent and inactive. Non-Brahmans were entering the Congress and forcing the Brahman leaders, who feared further political and economic defeats, to meet non-Brahman demands. In fact, the decay of the Justice party and the participation of some non-Brahmans in the Congress reflected an important tendency among caste-based political parties. They suggested that Indian political parties with narrow, particularistic goals must eventually broaden their programs and relate to national politics or face the danger of eclipse.

An offshoot of the Congress, the Swaraj party, defeated the Justice party in the

1926 elections. The Justice party never recovered its early sense of mission or effective leadership; but it had launched the non-Brahman movement and achieved many of its original goals. Confident in their new strength yet ambivalent about conflicts between their regional and national loyalties, non-Brahman leaders continued their movement on different fronts, in and outside the Congress. The most notable regional effort was Ramaswami Naicker's Self-Respect Movement, which emphasized the distinctiveness of Tamil culture and contrasted it with the alien, caste-ridden, Sanskritic culture of the Brahmans. Out of the social progressivism and regional chauvinism of the Self-Respect Movement there eventually developed the demand for a separate Tamil country.

Excellent as this book is, it is disappointing not to find the political analysis more continuously linked to a specific social and cultural context. The introduction gives a brief social profile of the Tamil- and Telegu-speaking regions, and an important chapter towards the end of the book describes "The Intellectual Background of Tamil Separatism"; but the intervening discussion struck this reviewer as somewhat removed from the actual human conflict it was intended to describe.

*Northwestern University*

JOHN R. McLANE

VIET NAM: THE ORIGINS OF REVOLUTION. By *John T. McAlister, Jr.*  
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1969. Pp. xix, 377, xii. \$7.95.)

THE central premise put forward by Mr. McAlister is that Vietnam has experienced a revolution in its system of governance. He traces the sources of this political change back to the colonial period, particularly between 1910 and 1930. Through skillful use of socio-economic data derived from French and International Labor Organization statistics, the case is made for the modernization of a significant minority of Vietnamese who subsequently joined in the anti-French movement sponsored by the Viet Minh. The bulk of the volume deals with the period from 1925 to 1947, focusing upon the activities of the several nationalist leaders and their followers; and it is in the portrait of these parties that the author re-creates the political memory which is probably carried in the minds of most Vietnamese communists. Judicious reconstruction of political history is always difficult, particularly so in the heat of battle; yet this is McAlister's contribution in this volume, and it is the justification for its publication.

The material itself is not generally new, although he makes ample use of official French sources previously unavailable to American scholars. The major currents of the time have been described in English by Joseph Buttinger in *Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled* and by such scholars as John Donnell, Bernard Fall, Roy Jumper, and Milton Sacks in articles tucked away in academic journals. Nonetheless, this volume does offer some original explanation, particularly on the movements and role of Ho Chi Minh in the pre-World War II period, and on the misguided efforts of the French to threaten him into subservience after the war. Certainly the official archives do not enhance the image of the French leadership, including De Gaulle, who were determined to practice Churchill's preaching and not preside over the dissolution of their empire.

The major thesis, in my judgment, remains unproven. By McAlister's own definition, the test of a successful revolution is: "First and most important, the revolutionary political structure must become a distinctively *new way of sharing power*."

Only by a new approach to sharing power can the revolutionary hope to mobilize in support of the revolutionary cause those whose expectations have been thwarted by the incumbents." Other criteria include the creation of a legitimate leadership and a military organization. My quarrel is not with the last two achievements, which are notably evident in North Vietnam, but is particularly with the key tenet. Is the power of governance really shared in a new way within the Lao Dong? Or have the mistakes of the French and Americans largely accounted for the fervent chauvinism that enables the Communist party to command support?

In comparing Vietnam to other new, ex-colonial states in Southeast Asia, or other Asian communist states, I am struck with the similarity of decision making among a small political-military elite, most of whom have been near the core of the political process for many years. Perhaps my problem with McAlister's thesis is not so much with his own view as with the conventional wisdom he builds his theory upon, that a communist regime is by definition revolutionary. Is power more widely shared than in a traditional Asian polity? The form is new, but traditional cultures and communities have a way of surviving in Asia. The author properly contends that a new political community replaced the colonialists, but is that substantially different than the case in most new states? The key measure is found in a new political culture.

What is striking about the hard evidence in this volume is how parallel Vietnam's anticolonial experience was to that of Indonesia, Burma, Korea, and even China. A small body of conspirators in each of these countries, all better educated than most of their countrymen and more exposed to modernity, seized power, with greater or less violence, when a deflated West finally terminated its colonial era. Vietnam happened to be the last in Asia to win its struggle; indeed, some logically can argue that only now is the struggle nearing completion. But in the long run, say by the end of this century, can we say with assurance that the first generation of leaders in these "revolutionary" states were that different because some were communists and others merely generals or socialists—or that any were successful revolutionaries in McAlister's terms? I prefer to wait another few decades before I pass my own judgment.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN BADGLEY

LA BATAILLE POUR LA MER DE CHINE. By *Jacques Britsch*. ([Paris:] Promotion et Édition. 1968. Pp. 284. 22.50 fr.)

THE misstated title of this monograph reflects the military experience and viewpoint of the author, who is currently associated with the French Center for Higher Studies on Africa and Asia. He undertakes to provide for the general reader essential background information and relevant documents for understanding developments along the periphery of the China Sea since the French departure in 1954. A completely inadequate historical introduction devotes a characteristic five pages to the Philippines, four plus to French Indochina to 1954, and a total of thirteen lines to Kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn.

The heart of the book is Part II, covering in seventy closely packed pages the Geneva accords and the history of North and South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia from 1954 to 1965. It is supported by a sixty-page documentary appendix covering the settlements of 1954 and 1962. Seven useful maps are provided. Part III (thirty pages) treats Sukarno's Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, plus observations on the overseas Chinese. These generally well-digested summaries are based on French

secondary sources and demonstrate little or no evidence of original scholarship. The author's French bias is reflected in his reference to Chulalongkorn's decision in the 1890's to "abandon his pretenses to the left bank of the Mekong to permit France to create Laos" and in the reprinting of an earlier article on the future of French interests in Indochina previously published in *La Revue de Défense Nationale*. He estimates that as of late 1965 the French still owned some 70 per cent of the economy of South Vietnam and that their holdings within Cambodia were actually expanding. Evidence is also provided of the continuing pro-French orientation of Saigon's military junta and of governmental leadership generally in Vientiane and Phnom Penh.

Part IV includes a statement of French views with respect to SEATO and a curious excursion into relations among India, Pakistan, and China. For American readers, the book provides an interesting and often perceptive French view of Indochina since 1954. The author suggests thoughtfully that peace will come only when the major protagonists on both sides of the cold war discard their ideological fanaticism.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

THE IMPACT OF CHINESE SECRET SOCIETIES IN MALAYA: A HISTORICAL STUDY. By *Wilfred Blythe*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 566. \$15.50.)

THE secret society, long rooted in China's revolutionary tradition, was an autarchic form of group organization readily adaptable to the needs of the overseas Chinese, especially during the era of large-scale and widespread emigration from China that began about the middle of the nineteenth century. As a highly disciplined as well as self-contained organization, the secret society became even more of a social necessity overseas than in the homeland, providing a tightly knit sociopolitical welfare agency through which the Chinese immigrant could be sure to find assistance, protection, and comradeship in a strange land. It was a particularly appropriate style of organization for the pioneer Chinese tin-mining communities living in the frontier conditions of the Malay Peninsula.

This excellent study traces the origins, history, and ritual of the secret societies in Malaya in the dual perspective of Chinese and Malayan history. It shows that the British administration in Malaya was about as unsuccessful as the Ch'ing dynasty in China in solving the problems that the societies posed. A period of uneasy toleration was followed by years of strenuous efforts at suppression, but the societies still continued to operate extensively, even though their Mafia-like criminal activities were held in check. The various phases of their overt activity during the present century have tended to reflect political rivalries and conflicts both within China and, increasingly, within Malaysia itself. As the author shows, the potential danger to Malaysia and Singapore from the deeply entrenched tradition of the secret societies still persists.

While a fairly considerable literature exists on the Chinese of Southeast Asia, little has been written specifically on their secret societies. The works of M. L. Wynne and L. F. Comber, each useful within its limits, have hitherto been the only studies of significance on the societies in Malaya. Mr. Blythe, who was closely concerned with Chinese affairs as a colonial civil servant in Malaya for many years, has made skillful and intelligent use of unpublished British and Malaysian official sources, the

published material in English and Chinese, and, especially for the postwar years, personal acquaintance with some of the societies and their members to produce a most comprehensive and scholarly study.

Both the author's background and the material at his disposal tend to dictate a largely Anglo-centric approach, and a point of view that sees the secret societies as primarily an administrative problem rather than a social or cultural one. Yet he succeeds to a considerable degree in humanizing the sources through real sympathy and understanding, thus following in that fine tradition of the British-Malaysian administrator-scholar that began with Marsden and Raffles and is now virtually at an end.

*University of British Columbia*

BRIAN HARRISON

## Americas

REFLECTIONS OF WESTERN HISTORIANS: PAPERS OF THE 7TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION ON THE HISTORY OF WESTERN AMERICA, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: OCTOBER 12-14, 1967. *John Alexander Carroll*, Editor. With the assistance of *James R. Kluger*. [Western Historical Studies 1967.] ([Tucson:] University of Arizona Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 314. \$7.50.)

*Reflections of Western Historians* is a selection of the papers presented at the seventh annual meeting of the Western History Association, held in San Francisco, October 12-14, 1967. The title is indeed appropriate, for the volume catches the western historians, for the most part, in a deeply reflective mood, both implicitly and explicitly, concerning the nature and status of western history within the profession. Virtually no attention is given to the usual "cowboys and Indians—high adventure" brand of western history. Rather the accent is on themes of economic, cultural, and comparative history with a significant amount of attention devoted to the question of contemporary relevance. Clearly the western historians are sharing the anxieties of virtually all other historians in their efforts to make their work relate to an age of rapid social change and mass mythmaking in which the practice of history itself seemingly has no dramatic part to play. This anxiety is best expressed by the number of times the authors represented in this volume call for greater resort to disciplines other than history, disciplines that are more currently fashionable and seemingly more functional as tools for solving current problems. Among these are anthropology, ethnology, sociology, economics, psychology, political science model building, and the computer sciences. As Kenneth Owens points out, this is probably the health sign of an era of fermenting thought, akin to the turbulent Progressive era when Turner himself boldly crossed disciplinary lines to create the field of western history.

The search for historical identity in this volume begins with John Alexander Carroll's introduction, a self-conscious but graceful valedictory note on the termination of his ten years of service as editor of *Arizona and the West*. Whereas the football hero has sometimes been concerned to "win one for the Gipper," Professor Carroll has tried to write an "honest preface" for his late mentor Walter Webb, suggesting that the influence of great teachers and even historians is immeasurable. Professor Carroll's preface is followed by Richard A. Van Orman's historical guide to San

Francisco hotel life, presumably to provide proper historical orientation for the conferees.

The rest of the book is divided into four sections: "The Colonial West," "The 'Last' Frontier," "The Recent West," and "Other Historical Observations." Also included is an appendix that incorporates a fascinating discussion of the teaching of western history. All of the essays on the colonial West deal with the Spanish West in some fashion. Don E. Chipman's "Guzman's 'Mayor España'" describes the misadventures of a zealous conquistador in Mexico. Michael E. Thurman takes us through the Nootka Sound Controversy once again, this time through the eyes of Juan Bodega y Quadra. The best of this group of essays is that of Iris H. Wilson, "Spanish Scientists in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1792," because it dramatically outlines the scientific role played by Enlightenment Spain in an age usually seen as dominated by British naval explorers, like James Cook and George Vancouver, or German and French globe-trotting polymaths, like Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Marie de la Condamine. The whole conception of this section on the colonial West is, however, open to question since many western historians see the West as being "colonial" in some sense down to very recent decades.

William H. Hutchinson, for instance, sees much of the West in the nineteenth century as tributary to California's economic imperialism. His essay, written in pure western baroque prose, nonetheless opens out in all directions on fascinating fields for historical research on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century West. Thomas R. Cox brings precision to his description of trade between California and Asia, and points out that the Asian trade between 1850 and 1900 had little real effect on the nation but played a major part in shaping California's growth. In demolishing the passage to India myth, Mr. Cox, however, fails to acknowledge adequately its staying power as an influence on American foreign policy from Thomas Jefferson to Lyndon Johnson.

Richard Brown's study of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 is loaded with contemporary relevance, as is Ben Procter's hard look at the modern Texas Rangers in the recent Rio Grande Valley fight. Both Procter and Philip Jordan, whose commentary on the paper is included, see the modern Rangers as badly in need of modernization. Joe B. Frantz's thoughtful analysis of the Kennedy and Johnson senatorial voting records regarding the West reveals the two men to be generally like-minded about western development, with Johnson understandably the more concerned of the two. One further dash of relevance is added by Otis E. Young in his article on the craft of prospecting or how to tell fool's gold from the real thing.

David Gracy, James B. Allen, and John D. Hicks all deal with basic western institutions. Gracy gives conventional treatment to the Littlefield cattle empire. James B. Allen changes his mind about the benevolence of company-owned mining towns. And John D. Hicks in underscoring the intimate relationship between town and country in the recent West also laments the passing of that Jeffersonian way of life.

Perhaps the most subtle essays in the book are those by Lewis G. Thomas and Earl Pomeroy. Thomas explains the complex influences that contributed to the creation of a seemingly pluralistic society in the Canadian prairie provinces. Not the least of these influences, in addition to the presence of large Mennonite, Danish, and Mormon colonies and a substantial French minority, was the Canadian fear of being culturally homogenized like the United States. If western Canada were culturally homogenized, so the fear ran, then it would be indistinguishable from the United



States and thus have no reason for a separate existence. Only with great effort, requiring the creation of an artificial national character, did Canadian politicians convince their constituents of the need for two governments in North America.

Pomeroy's theme in "The West and New Nations in Other Continents" is equally international, and his essay has several purposes. By a careful comparison of the American western experience with those of the newly emerging nations of "Tropicalia," Pomeroy concludes that the situations and the problems are quite different, and that to project American lessons onto these nations may possibly be disastrous. At the same time, Pomeroy calls for more studies of foreign and comparative frontiers, and from the points of view afforded by the various disciplines mentioned earlier. In so doing, Pomeroy is attempting cautiously, but meaningfully, to suggest a new and promising context for western history—an international context. This, of course, takes us back to Professor Carroll's hero, Walter Webb, and to the "great frontier" idea but in a vastly more sophisticated and potentially more informed way. To ask scholars, in addition to their own research in western history, to inform themselves in depth about the new disciplines and about the frontier or colonial histories of exotic countries in many parts of the world is perhaps asking too much. Certainly some of the commentators on the teaching of western history seem to think so. But this is the price that western historians along with all other historians and thinking Americans will have to pay if they wish to be relevant or functional intellectuals in a twentieth-century world.

University of Texas

WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN

MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By H. Wiley Hitchcock. [Prentice-Hall History of Music Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1969. Pp. 270. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.)

PROFESSOR Hitchcock's contribution to the eleven volumes he is editing exemplifies his slogan for the series: "comprehensive, authoritative, and engaging." He races from the beginning of the colonial period to the mid-1960's, branching into "The Vernacular Tradition" alongside "The Cultivated Tradition," with copious musical illustrations and a bibliographical note appended to each chapter. All periods receive his freshly reconsidered treatment. The section on music since World War II may be the most entertaining, although it slights substantial free-atonalists like Evan Copley. The climax may, however, be the chapter on Ives. One would wish a full chapter on at least ten other men as well.

After the way Hitchcock tackled Ives, we may wonder why he shied from the stylistic analysis he says the music of Griffes still awaits. In Barber's Piano Sonata Hitchcock hears Schoenbergian chromaticism but not the hilarious rag. And on what ground is Piston's *Incredible Flutist* forgotten? Kern's works for the stage get a quick nod, but his music for films not even that. Cole Porter gets named, but none of his shows or songs. The list of Copland movie scores omits *The Heiress*, which won him an Academy Award. The cowboy-song source of *The Plow that Broke the Plains* rates notice, but not the more notable blues source, and Thomson's anthems have passed this author by. Yet his apt discussion of *Four Saints in Three Acts* begins to give that historic work its due. We should fault the underplay of Rodgers. *The Sound of Music* did not appear too late for this book (*Hair* got in). The epochal score of *Victory at Sea* is ignored, as is all music on or for television. Radio is remembered with a brave note on the modicum of good music still to be heard,

although the sordid state of the remaining 99.44 per cent is disregarded. Music publishing is discreetly avoided, along with other unpositive matter.

The biggest deficiency of this valuable book is the usual fault of the professional musician camouflaging with technical description the question of what the music has expressed through its technique. This vacuum of meaning is by no means complete, and the description, in any case, is far from conventional.

*Wake Forest University*

CYCLONE COVEY

A HISTORY OF NEW MEXICAN-PLAINS INDIAN RELATIONS. By *Charles L. Kenner*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 250. \$6.95.)

PROFESSOR Kenner's book is a detailed study of three centuries of contact between the inhabitants of New Mexico, both Indians and Spaniards, and the Indians of the Great Plains. Their ties, based on trade, not only worked to preserve peace between potentially hostile groups but made a lasting impact on both societies. Even before the Spaniards arrived, trade was well established between the Pueblos, who had a surplus of corn and blankets, and the Apaches of the plains, who traded dried meat and buffalo robes. The stability achieved between these groups by the beginning of the eighteenth century was disrupted by the intrusion of the warlike Comanches into the southern plains. But after years of turmoil, these Indians, too, succumbed to the forces of commerce and were willing to maintain a precarious peace. Under such conditions extensive trading activities were carried on by two groups: the *Comancheros*, New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians who roamed the plains with pack animals and wooden ox carts to trade with the Comanches, and the *ciboleros*, buffalo hunters who pushed out onto the plains in the nineteenth century.

New disruptions came with the arrival of the Anglo-Americans during the Mexican War. The peaceful *Comanchero* trade degenerated into a nefarious commerce in which the Comanches and Kiowas of the southern plains stole cattle from the advancing Texans, which they then traded to the New Mexican traders for guns and powder as well as for the traditional foodstuffs. Military harassment by United States troops stationed in the Southwest finally put an end to the traffic, and the long-standing trade relations came to an end.

While the trade lasted it worked subtle changes in the cultures of the peoples involved. The Pueblo Indians, for example, borrowed material items such as bows, arrows, and buckskin clothing, as well as religious and social ceremonies from the Plains Indians. The author's account of these cultural changes is less adequately handled than his narrative of the trading activities, which is based on extensive research, well-documented in the footnotes. His attempt to vindicate the New Mexicans against accusations of timidity and cowardice made by Anglo-American observers is not completely successful. On the whole, however, this is a very welcome study.

*Marquette University*

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN SMIBERT. With essays by *Sir David Evans* et al. and with notes relating to Smibert's American portraits by *Andrew Oliver*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1969. Pp. vi, 131. \$10.00.)

JUST about the time when scholars conclude that all the pertinent evidence on a subject within their field of competence has been discovered and they begin to fall into the sterile pattern of echoing each other, a new document occasionally turns up, in

the most unexpected place, to revitalize interest and force a recasting of opinion. Such is the value of this latest discovery that the Massachusetts Historical Society has made available to historians of eighteenth-century English and American art.

The notebook of John Smibert was discovered among Chancery records in the London Public Record Office in the 1920's, but was withheld from publication until the Public Records Act of 1958 came into force. The notebook includes a listing of the artist's portraits painted in London and America between 1722 and 1747, an itinerary of his journey from Edinburgh to Italy in 1719 and his return to London in 1722, and miscellaneous family documents. Although slight in size, the book contains information of inestimable value that should create a renewed interest in both the artist's achievement and influence as well as in early eighteenth-century art.

When Smibert died in 1751, he left a comfortable estate derived partly, as we now can see, from the approximately 240 portraits he painted between 1729 and 1747 in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York; he also left a reputation as a painter of unrivalled skill and an example of the professional artist, which stimulated the imaginations of younger Americans eager to follow in his path. Later, however, the view of Smibert's work changed under the impact of the rather shrill debate among art historians concerning the effect of the American environment on art and artists. Some pointed to Smibert as an example of the deleterious effect that American lack of interest in the visual arts had on men of talent, while others claimed that Smibert improved as a result of absorbing indigenous artistic traditions emphasizing simplicity and realism. Now that we have Smibert's list of portraits, we can hope for the eventual recovery of them from the limbo of anonymity into which they have fallen in England and the United States; and with this new evidence perhaps future art historians will be able to avoid the extremes of both schools and place the artist in a more proper perspective.

*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

LILLIAN B. MILLER

PATRICK HENRY: PRACTICAL REVOLUTIONARY. By *Robert Douthat Meade*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1969. Pp. x, 531. \$10.00.)

PATRICK Henry lived by the voice, and to a considerable extent he died by it. It is the penmen of the Revolution who survive—including Henry's unfriendly contemporaries Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton. Henry's oratory made him an "overwhelming torrent" in a legislative body, but in history he is too reminiscent of a potential composer who opts instead for conducting or performing; he must get his glory while he lives because performers, including orators, usually cannot collect it posthumously. Late in life, Henry even described himself as "fleeting and unsubstantial as a shadow of the cloud that flies over yon fields, and is remembered no more." Henry was "as hopeless a subject as man could well desire" to his first biographer, William Wirt. "Gods how he *could* talk!" Wirt marveled, "but there is no acting the while."

After twenty-four years of research, Robert Meade says about all that can be said about Henry, but unfortunately he also proves Wirt's point. He manages to fill what Wirt called "ugly blanks" in Henry's career; to Meade, Henry was a fair military commander, an outstanding wartime governor, and a creative statesman rather than a demagogue. But as a man he is still a blank. Despite the promise made in Meade's *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (1957) that the second and final volume would include Henry's "unexpectedly colorful private life," Henry simply does not come alive. Meade himself describes his biography as an "authentic, though circum-

scribed picture." Events happen around him, but just what Henry did and why are too often unclear.

The legislative chapters are useful, though often one wishes they presented fewer policies in greater depth. Most intriguing are Henry's postwar leniency toward the British and his proposal to subsidize Virginian-Indian intermarriage. Meade's findings may not permit an expansion of these more promising topics, but, even so, his volume would profit from pruning; a marginal "So what?" appears ten times and "What's his point?" twice in this reviewer's copy. Meade only hints at an answer to the most fascinating puzzler, Henry's shift to the Federalist party; he emphasizes Henry's successful land speculation and his dislike for Jefferson, Madison, and the anti-religious tone of the French Revolution. The most successful chapter is on the legal practice of Henry's waning years, where Meade finally has adequate documentation.

Historians should be grateful to Meade for carrying out a project that has involved such immense research, even if it hasn't really merited the labor.

*California State College, Los Angeles*

DONALD O. DEWEY

WHIG-LOYALISM: AN ASPECT OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA. By *William Allen Benton*. (Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1969. Pp. 231. \$8.00.)

WITH the approaching bicentennial of the American Revolution things are certainly looking up for the Loyalists. Apart from several stimulating learned articles, 1968 saw documentary collections edited by Rawlyk and by Upton and the launching of the Loyalist Papers, and 1969 witnessed the reprinting of Jones on Massachusetts, Upton's biography of William Smith, Jr., Evans' edition of Loyalist documents, a general survey by this reviewer, and last but not least the book under review. The Loyalist boom is likely to grow.

Mr. Benton analyzes the careers of nine Whig Loyalists: Daniel Leonard and Benjamin Church of Massachusetts, William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, William Smith, Jr. and Peter Van Schaack of New York, Andrew Allen of Pennsylvania, Robert Alexander and Daniel Dulany of Maryland, and William Byrd III of Virginia. An introduction attempts to define Whig Loyalism; then the opening chapter gives vignettes of the early fortunes of the *dramatis personae*. The book generally proceeds chronologically with chapters on the Stamp Act, the period 1766-1771, the bishopric controversy, the period from 1771 to the outbreak of the war, "The Crisis of Independence," while a final chapter takes the story through war and peace and the deaths of the protagonists. Finally there is a useful bibliographical essay.

Fittingly, Benton extends a subject to which the initiator of the current Loyalist renaissance, William H. Nelson, devoted a chapter in which he coined the expression "Whig Loyalist." However, Benton partially disagrees with Nelson and selects some different Whig Loyalists.

It has long been apparent that such monolithic terms as Puritanism or Loyalism are not satisfactory. The great merit of this book is that it attempts a subtle approach to Loyalism, concentrating on a particular facet. Another merit is the thorough use of unpublished sources. The chief controversy and criticism will, I believe, be concerned with questions of selection and definition—definitions of Whig Loyalism waver and vary, and the meanings of such terms as Patriot and Tory are largely assumed. The nine protagonists are discussed in something of a vacuum. I fre-

quently had serious doubts about the distinctions drawn between Tory and Whig Loyalists. I do not mean Benton is necessarily wrong but that he does not spell out the Tory side. Also one recalls the way Carl Becker juxtaposed Jay and Van Schaack with good effect. However, Benton's book should be read by all students of Loyalism, and it should help provoke necessary rethinking about the Loyalists and the whole American Revolution.

*University of New Brunswick*

WALLACE BROWN

BORDERLAND EMPIRES IN TRANSITION: THE TRIPLE-NATION TRANSFER OF FLORIDA. By *Robert L. Gold*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 257. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Gold has given the history of the American Southeast a valuable study based on meticulous research. It is a refinement of his Ph.D. dissertation of several years ago.

Gold describes the actual transfer of Florida from Spain to England and the related problems. Only Chapter II gives the historical background of the 1763 peace treaty that transferred Florida from Spain and France (the land east of the Mississippi, especially Mobile) to England.

The first chapter gives a summary of Spanish Florida to 1763. All the other chapters deal with the transfer itself, covering the complicated property transactions in East and West Florida; the total evacuation of the Spanish population plus some Indians and Negroes to Havana and Campeche; the difficult Indian problems during the transfer; the "religious transformation of Florida from 1763 to 1765"; King George III's proclamation of October 1763 for the management of Florida together with the other American territories acquired. The English divided the Florida lands into West and East Florida with Pensacola as the seat of West Florida and kept St. Augustine, the old Spanish capital, as the governor's seat of East Florida. The appendix has the pertinent articles of the Treaty of Paris of 1763. The bibliography and notes are extensive. The index, printing, and editing of the book are good. The tables and maps are adequate.

One might think that this kind of subject is dull, but that is not the case. It should be mentioned that the transfer is unique and interesting because Spain and the Spanish population of Florida insisted on their total evacuation from Florida. By Spanish order no one was permitted to stay and apparently most people willingly obeyed to avoid Protestant English rule. The story as told is colorful and often moving. For example, there is the little-known tragic episode of the evacuation of the loyal Indians from West Florida to a village north of Vera Cruz and their post-evacuation problems. Then there is the case of Jesse Fish and John Gordon, two shrewd real estate speculators, who in complicated deals described clearly by Gold profited from the transfer.

The author has given us in a clear, one-volume work the complicated story of an international transfer of an area that today is part of the United States. He has accomplished the task commendably and made a major contribution not only to Florida but to US history.

*University of Ife, Nigeria*

CHARLES W. ARNADE

SHOAL OF TIME: A HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. By *Gavan Daws*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xiii, 494. \$9.95.)

HAWAII: RECIPROCITY OR ANNEXATION. By *Merze Tate*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 303. \$8.50.)

*Shoal of Time* is an eminently readable survey of Hawaiian history from the discovery of the islands by Captain James Cook in 1778 to statehood in 1959, with a five-page epilogue dealing with political parties and elections in the new state. In format and literary style the book is directed to the general reader rather than to other scholars, and from time to time the narrative is spiced with anecdotes and references to the gossip and scandals that were as common in Hawaii as elsewhere. Though the book may be described as a popular history of the islands, it is based upon a substantial amount of research, and most of the numerous footnotes refer to unpublished sources that may be found, in the original or on microfilm, in island libraries.

The author has provided a well-balanced blend of social, economic, and political history. He presents no particular interpretation of the whole sweep of Hawaiian history, or of any major segment of that history. He does offer his own judgment of events and personalities, sometimes subtly and sometimes with gentle satire compressed into a single sentence. He gives considerable attention to the status and role of the various ethnic groups that comprise the polyglot population of Hawaii, and discusses frankly the disadvantages and discriminations to which many of them have been subjected and which, as he concedes, have impaired somewhat "the spirit of aloha" for which the islands have been famous. He closes, however, on an optimistic note by quoting an unnamed island resident who greeted statehood with the comment, "Now we are all haoles [whites]."

Anyone who attempts to compress all of Hawaiian history into only a few hundred pages of text must exercise a high degree of selectivity. Readers familiar with the history of the islands may quarrel with the author's apportionment of space. Some important topics, such as the sandalwood trade and the early development of American commercial interests at Honolulu, seem to be treated almost casually; others, such as the futile efforts of Kalakaua to establish a Polynesian confederacy, appear to receive more attention than they deserve. These flaws may disturb the specialist. They will not impair the value of the book to the general reader who wishes a pleasing introduction to the fascinating history of the Hawaiian Islands, from the time of their primitive Polynesian past to the present era of plantations, trade unions, tourism, and American party politics.

Professor Tate's *Hawaii: Reciprocity or Annexation* complements her *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom* (1965). The earlier work dealt with the domestic politics of Hawaii from about 1860 to annexation and concentrated upon the period from 1887 to 1898. The later work deals with the two great issues that dominated the relations of Hawaii with the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. In each book Miss Tate offers an economic interpretation of the history of Hawaii. In the more recent volume she gives some attention to the fact that many persons in Hawaii and in the United States regarded reciprocity as either an alternative to annexation or as the prelude to it, and favored or opposed reciprocity on the basis of how they believed it would affect the movement for annexation.

No one will quarrel with Miss Tate's evidence that pressure from sugar planters and their friends prompted the Hawaiian government to seek tariff reciprocity with



the United States. Nor will they dispute the fact that continued pressure from the same sources and a desire to protect the prosperity that reciprocity brought the islands after 1876 forced Hawaiian politicians to seek an indefinite continuation of the reciprocity treaty of 1875. Miss Tate seems to suggest, however, that the planters favored annexation after 1890 in the hope that they could obtain the bounty of two cents a pound paid domestic producers of sugar under the terms of the McKinley Act of 1890. Such a conclusion is not supported by the evidence, and most other historians have dismissed that interpretation of the movement for annexation. Indeed, many of the planters opposed annexation in 1893, and the chief advocates of annexation in the islands appear to have been motivated by political as well as economic issues.

The present volume, like its predecessor, is a work of careful and meticulous scholarship. The author has consulted all the sources appropriate for her study and has developed her theme in great detail. If thoroughness of research and in presentation of the results were all that is required to make a book a definitive study, this work surely would qualify for that distinction. But the forces leading to the annexation of Hawaii were very complex, and no single explanation is adequate. In this work Miss Tate has developed with great skill one of the issues that contributed to the movement for annexation.

*Vanderbilt University*

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

THE AMPHIBIOUS CAMPAIGN FOR WEST FLORIDA AND LOUISIANA, 1814-1815: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS AT NEW ORLEANS. By *Wilburt S. Brown*. (University: University of Alabama Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 233. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Brown's careful study of the concluding campaign of the War of 1812 is the most extensive and complete account yet published. The author has assiduously mined the available manuscript and printed sources and has produced a balanced account. The sixteen maps are of varying utility, but they do contribute greatly to a well-designed and attractively printed book.

As can be expected of a former Marine Corps major general, Brown views the campaign that culminated in the Battle of New Orleans as an amphibious operation. In this he is not unique, but never before has the commentator benefited from thirty-five years experience with amphibious warfare. He argues, not entirely convincingly, that the campaign was an attempt by the British to seize control of the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico as a means of throttling the expanding American westward settlement. If Brown is on shaky ground in some of his political conclusions, he is in full command of the field when discussing military operations. He easily demolishes the romantic claptrap that has come to surround Jean Lafitte and the Barataria pirates. Their contribution to victory was limited to providing a much-needed supply of munitions as well as the crews for a pair of artillery pieces. On the other hand, Brown argues that the contributions of the New Orleans Creoles were overlooked in Andrew Jackson's reports and in most subsequent American histories. He has high praise for the opposing commanders, though he does not fail to point out numerous shortcomings of Jackson, notably in intelligence gathering. This reader, nevertheless, was not prepared for Professor Brown's conclusion that the American victory was "fully as astounding as historians originally accounted it."

*Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*

K. JACK BAUER

DAVID G. BURNET. By *Mary Whatley Clarke*. [Presidents and Governors of Texas Series.] (Austin: Pemberton Press, 1969. Pp. 303. \$9.50.)

EXCEPT for a county and a town named in his honor, David G. Burnet remains one of the most forgotten of the handful of early Texas leaders. In this biography of the first President of the Lone Star Republic, the author tries valiantly to rescue him from limbo and restore him to "the high and honored place he deserves." The results are not overwhelming.

Burnet emerges as a rather pedestrian frontier politician, but one who possessed unusual abilities as an orator and essayist. He left his native Ohio sometime before 1817 and lived for several years among the Cherokees in East Texas, recuperating from tuberculosis. When the frontier province came under Mexican rule in 1821, he obtained an empresario contract to settle three hundred families there. In this venture, like so many others in which he engaged during his long life, he generally failed. Today he is remembered by students of Southwestern history primarily for his role in Texas affairs immediately preceding and following the Battle of San Jacinto.

As President *ad interim* of the embryonic Republic during eight of the most turbulent months of its existence, Burnet performed a valuable service to his adopted country by merely holding together what little government it possessed. His life-long feud with the more dynamic and colorful Sam Houston, his extreme sensitivity to criticism, and his unimaginative conservatism, proved to be major stumbling blocks in a career that otherwise might have been highly successful. Except for a brief term as Vice President of the Republic under Mirabeau B. Lamar, Burnet held no other major office in Texas before his death in 1870. Elected to the United States Senate in 1866, he was not allowed to serve because Texas was still considered an unreconstructed state.

The current biography is written in a rather saccharine style. Such terms as "his beloved and faithful Hanna" and the "gallant Lamar" are tiresome. Moreover, the narrative suffers from constantly jumping back and forth from Burnet in old age to his early career in law, business, farming, or politics. Although her work obviously represents a labor of love, it is unfortunate that the author frequently allows admiration for her subject to get in the way of objectivity.

*University of Toledo*

W. EUGENE HOLLON

OHIO CANAL ERA: A CASE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT AND THE ECONOMY, 1820-1861. By *Harry N. Scheiber*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1969. Pp. xviii, 430. \$10.00.)

THIS book is an outstanding addition to the growing list of recent American canal studies. It is a study of the Ohio canals as they constitute a case history of public enterprise and economic development. Disavowing a single thesis, Professor Scheiber describes the work as offering "a set of related propositions concerning localism, political ideology, and partisan cleavages as they affected the making of policy; the character of entrepreneurship . . . in public undertakings, and the sources of strength and weakness in a functioning state bureaucracy; the impact of legal process and administration upon the economy; and the influences shaping statewide and regional economic change." Such a study for Ohio is particularly valuable since the state constructed more than eight hundred miles of canals, including the Ohio Canal from Portsmouth to Cleveland, the Miami Canal beginning at Cincinnati and extended to

the Wabash and Erie Canal terminating at Toledo, the Muskingum Improvement, and the Walhonding and Hocking Valley canals.

The first half of this volume, "The State Enterprise," deals with canal building in Ohio, characterized by a "commonwealth" concept of state policy and expanded by an egalitarian ideology until the system was completed in 1845. The second part, "The Course of Economic Change," shows how the predicted development of the canal counties was amply, though unevenly, realized. While the canals did not break the dependence of the Ohio Valley on the southern market, they contributed significantly to state commerce, urban growth, and export trade. Especially important is the demonstration of the state's rate-making power in determining the course of trade. A third section relates railroad competition to the canals and to the development of the state. Expanding under private control, railroads enjoyed public aid while they helped to destroy the "commonwealth idea" which had prevailed in canal construction and rate-making. Ironically, railroad competition engendered by the success of the canals brought a decline of canal traffic, and the canals were leased to private operators in 1861.

This is a richly comparative work: the author projects his interpretations into the railroad history of the 1870's and relates transportation in Ohio to other states. He shows that the Ohio canals were vitally linked to the Erie Canal. De Witt Clinton gave decisive support, the Erie Canal was taken as a model for specifications and management, and engineers were imported from New York.

As a case history of government and the economy, however, this study touches only lightly on politics and social history. While the legislative debate over the 1825 canal law is found to be "as momentous as any in the state's history," it is summarized in a page. Differences between Whigs and Democrats over canal policy are minimized and distinctions between "radical Democrats" and "conservative Democrats" are briefly stated. It will be important that the subtitle be included when this book is cited, for *Ohio Canal Era* alone suggests more details on canal construction, canal travel, and canal towns than are included in this volume.

Scheiber provides illustrative details in the notes that continue discussions as well as give sources. However, titles are frequently shortened without subtitle or dates showing the scope of the reference cited (this is true of the bibliography as well), and more careful editing might have caught errors in some of the citations. The text, however, is clearly written and the reader is helped by frequent recapitulations.

Any study of the Ohio canals must begin with this book. It should become a major source for further writing on the Transportation Revolution of the nineteenth century.

*Miami University*

RONALD E. SHAW

JACKSONIAN AMERICA: SOCIETY, PERSONALITY, AND POLITICS. By *Edward Pessen*. [The Dorsey Series in American History.] (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 408. \$4.50.)

THIS book has many interesting things to say about the Jacksonian generation. But it is not the "new synthesis" at which the author aimed. It is an unintegrated mixture of at least four different components: summaries of the scholarship on such aspects of life as religion, medicine, the family, and economic development; methodological discussions of such matters as the new economic history and quantification in histori-

cal study; attempts to develop original interpretations from the sources; and a review of the tangled literature on the nature and meaning of Jacksonian politics.

The weakest elements are the author's original interpretations. One chapter is devoted to delineating the Jacksonian American's "social character" by listing and classifying the characterizations found in travel accounts. When discrepancies are eliminated by dismissing some of the writers as unreliable, the Jacksonian who emerges is not a very attractive fellow to the author.

The unifying theme of the book is supposedly the author's next generalization: that the Jacksonian period was not egalitarian. Unfortunately he has to begin by discrediting the nearly unanimous testimony of the travelers on whom he had relied in the previous chapter. He then discovers that wealth and power were not equally distributed in Jacksonian America, that rich men and poor men were to be found, that not all successful men began poor and that not all poor men became successful.

This theme orients the half of the book that penetrates the scholarly brambles of Jacksonian politics. Here fair reporting of the conclusions of all scholars on all aspects of the subject is curiously combined with unsupported assertions of the author's conclusions. About Georgia politics he writes: "Whigs proclaimed their intellectual, educational, moral, and ethical superiority to the Jacksonians in the state, a boast a critical historian finds valid. . . . The main difference found between the major parties in Georgia was that where Whigs appealed to the 'intelligence and patriotism' of voters, Democrats appealed to prejudice."

Pessen does not like Andrew Jackson. "The arrogance, the disingenuousness, the cruel disregard for the rights of Indians, the highmindedness, the egotism bordering on egomania, the intolerance, the joy in hating, the emotionalism, the pettiness, the vindictiveness, that mark his career before 1828 continued to manifest themselves afterwards." Democratic politicians were unscrupulous demagogues who gulled the masses into ignoring "the issues truly facing the country"—slavery, economic development, "the needs of the underprivileged," honest and efficient government.

*University of California, Berkeley*

CHARLES SELLERS

THE INDIANS OF TEXAS IN 1830. By *Jean Louis Berlandier*. Edited and introduced by *John C. Ewers*. Translated by *Patricia Reading Leclercq*. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press; distrib. by Random House, New York. 1969. Pp. xi, 209. \$10.00.)

ON November 10, 1827, the Mexican boundary commission departed Mexico City for Texas. The *Comisión de Límites* faced the task of determining the northeastern portion of the international boundary separating Mexico and the United States. The French scientist Jean Louis Berlandier accompanied the expedition to collect plant and animal specimens and "information on the customs, dispositions, and habits of the Indian tribes." During his service with the *Comisión de Límites* and later from his San Antonio headquarters, Berlandier visited Comanche, Kickapoo, Lipan Apache, Tonkawa, Caddo, Cherokee, Delaware, Shawnee, and Koasati bands. He made copious notes, collected weapons, tools, garments, and other specimens of native technology, and sketched tribal representatives. His drawings, with those by the *Comisión de Límites'* cartographer-artist, José Sánchez y Tapia, were executed in exquisite water color by Lino Sánchez y Tapia. From his notes on the Texas Indian tribes Berlandier composed a manuscript, "The Indians of Texas in 1830," which describes Indian physical attributes, marriage and family customs, the status of women, tribal

government, law and justice, economic life, religion, ethnobotany, and relations with other tribes and the Mexicans. Through the years Berlandier's manuscript, water colors, and ethnographic specimens were scattered among museums, libraries, and private collections. His manuscript and Indian drawings reposed finally in the rich collections of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

John C. Ewers' introduction and editorial notes provide an instructive setting for the journal. His imaginative management and professional analysis of three disparate classes of material generated by Berlandier's visit to the Texas tribes—the manuscript, water colors, and artifacts—have produced a charming, integrated entity, a literary tribute to this pioneer scientist in the American Southwest.

Berlandier's ethnographic work is impressive on several counts. First is his viewpoint. Ewers notes that "At a time when many writers looked upon Indians as inferior beings, he retained an open mind and sought to balance Indian virtues and their vices. In the end he appraised the wild Comanche and their neighbors as human beings of considerable intelligence, capable of living in an organized society and of adapting to changed conditions." Second is the author's age; twenty-two years old in 1828, he demonstrated a precocious talent for writing very readable prose. Third, as a man of science, Berlandier eschewed the role of a tortured specialist and exhibited a remarkable versatility, curiosity, and range of interest. And last, the young Frenchman's perceptive capacity provides readers of another century satisfying descriptions and penetrating insights into the individual and communal life of the Texas tribes.

*University of Oklahoma*

ARRELL M. GIBSON

BLACK ABOLITIONISTS. By *Benjamin Quarles*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 310. \$6.75.)

LEWIS TAPPAN AND THE EVANGELICAL WAR AGAINST SLAVERY. By *Bertram Wyatt-Brown*. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1969. Pp. xxi, 376. \$8.95.)

THESE two studies provide a needed historical dimension for contemporary problems of race and reform in America by examining from different perspectives the earlier partnership, vital but uneasy, of white and black abolitionists in the thirty years before the Civil War. At first glance the picture outlined by these authors seems to show the partial success of a cooperative endeavor: a combined assault on the institution of slavery and a considerably less effective attack on the Northern bastions of race prejudice. Lewis Tappan, severely handicapped by elitist notions of society, rigid pietism, and a nearly pathological concern with Christian stewardship, still managed, albeit painfully, to respond to the black personality with something approaching comprehension. For their part, black abolitionists needed and used the support provided by their white colleagues who subsidized their press (this relationship was reciprocal), supplied a forum for an increasingly vocal black leadership, and gradually came to entertain ideas and suggestions differing from their own. Despite surface tensions the abolitionist enterprise survived until the Civil War, which it quickly defined as a war to destroy slavery. "In 1830," writes Mr. Quarles, "a great majority of the 320,000 free Negroes were in the habit of regarding all whites as their enemies. The abolitionists changed this stereotype."

The erosion of one stereotype, however, was more than offset by the persistence

in the white abolitionist mind of the double image of the black man as an Uncle Tom-like "victim of outrage" and a "noble savage," conventions that made abolitionism less a partnership than a joint stock company with the majority of the voting stock lodged safely with the whites. Thus a closer look at the campaign against slavery reveals unrecognized needs and inadequate response, clashing demands and divergent goals, which were traceable ultimately to the twin factors of race prejudice and a wholly deficient white estimate of the rights of the free Negro. Lewis Tappan avoided some of the pitfalls of prejudice although he, like most white abolitionists, was given to close calculations of the expediency of demanding social equality from a Northern society obsessed with fears of amalgamation. "When the subject of acting out our professed principles in treating men irrespective of color is discussed," Tappan noted in commenting on the shortcomings of his fellow evangelicals, "heat is always produced. I anticipate that . . . if ever there is a split in our ranks it will arise from collision on this point." The results of the collision were apparent in the Thermidorean politics of late Reconstruction, but, as Quarles makes clear, the origins of this later reaction lay in the reservations and doubts of the prewar generation of white reformers that meanwhile drove black abolitionists to their own devices. For the blacks the "uses of adversity" were numerous: establishment of independent black churches; the fashioning of an autonomous image among the more perceptive English; designs for full citizenship; and, most important, the forging of a communal will to action in fugitive slave rescues and the effective management of the Underground Railroad. There is thus an underlying irony in the "united front" with which the abolitionist coalition faced the Lincoln administration with demands for emancipation.

Mr. Wyatt-Brown's admirable study of Tappan is less a conventional biography than a group study of those evangelicals who, rejecting both the secessionist strategies of the Garrisonians and the moral makeshifts of political antislavery, sought to exploit the elusive potential of organized religion. Lewis Tappan, together with his brother Arthur and a small group of like-minded clergymen, attempted a "third way" through the churches, a reform method at which Lewis, despite personal limitations, proved remarkably flexible. Not flexible enough for the author, however, whose sympathies really rest with Garrison, whom he credits with a sophisticated version of antipolitics based on a calculated appraisal of the power of minority action. "From a theoretical point of view," he concludes, "Tappan's concept of politics was as conventional and unimaginative as Garrison's was new and provocative." Whatever the merits of this argument (and I have my reservations), the fact remains that by 1860 both Garrison and Tappan, having exhausted their several resources, joined the political abolitionists in making their accommodation to force.

*Black Abolitionists* traces the same course. The strengths of Quarles' revisionist survey stem primarily from the fresh evidence of black activity: in particular, an informative chapter on the liberating effect of the Schism of 1840 on a new generation of more militant black abolitionists; another on the innumerable black experiments in self-help; and a third documenting the major role played by blacks in aiding fugitives. Even with the obvious differences arising from the gap between white ideals and black reality the parallel course followed by the two racial groups is striking—a progression from early commitment to moral suasion, by way of organizational breakdown, religious schism, and political stalemate, to confrontation. White and black abolitionists stood somewhat closer to genuine equality in 1860 than they had three decades before, and not least in the conviction shared by Lewis Tappan and



Frederick Douglass alike that not to fight for emancipation was "to attempt to reverse an irreversible law."

*Brown University*

JOHN L. THOMAS

DIE ERSTEN HAMBURGER IM GOLDLAND KALIFORNIEN. By *Renate Hauschild-Thiessen*. [Vorträge und Aufsätze herausgeben vom Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, Number 17.] (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag. 1969. Pp. 105.)

THIS tightly knit booklet adheres to the subject of its title yet has significance beyond the topic of Germans and the California gold rush. Argonauts from Hamburg exercised influence beyond their numbers and, naturally, one could not have told about their experiences without revealing conditions in general, particularly in San Francisco. Readers of Western history will usually find corroboration for previous impressions, but will also discover nuances that may modify some of these and give new emphasis to others. Confirmed is the concept that the entrepreneur was the real beneficiary of the mining bonanza. This book shows, as do few others, the pronounced impact of the news of gold discoveries on the Pacific ports of South America and the extent to which foreign enterprise there tended to shift to California. The author reveals there was widespread activity of traders from Hamburg in the Pacific, and that ships from this North Sea port matched and rivaled the Yankee clipper. Few accounts make one so aware of the rapidity with which California, especially San Francisco, emerged from economic infancy.

Germans adapted themselves well to their American home but tended to gravitate toward their countrymen. This enabled them to retain much of their Old World culture, through their own theatre and newspaper and through mutual benefit associations in the fields of insurance and hospitalization. They admired the Yankees for their enterprise and energy but deplored their uncouth, boastful, and aggressive habits. These immigrants, however, did not disclaim American manifest destiny.

This useful type of study in the fields of immigration and ethnic groups shows the value of consular papers as sources for local and regional history.

*Washington State University*

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

WESTMORELAND DAVIS: VIRGINIA PLANTER-POLITICIAN, 1859-1942. By *Jack Temple Kirby*. [The Southern Frontier.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1968. Pp. viii, 215. \$5.75.)

THE Progressive era produced many controversial figures on both national and local levels. The roles of most of the major national figures during that period have been studied and restudied. Scholars using principally printed volumes have analyzed, interpreted, and postulated varying and contradictory theses about these men and their roles. They have even questioned that there was a Progressive era. Tragically the materials for restudy of these years on the grass-roots level have not figured much in such largely semantic revisions. This well-written biography of Westmoreland Davis (1859-1942), Progressive governor of Virginia (1917-1921) and long-time agricultural leader, provides an example of the type of basic study needed before really significant and meaningful new theses on the Progressive era can be formulated. Given comparably solid biographies of the lesser Progressives, our knowledge of just

what went on during the years beginning with Theodore Roosevelt's accession to the presidency and ending when Woodrow Wilson left office would be enriched.

Davis was a Virginia patrician of a family impoverished by the Civil War. Years of sacrifice included study at the Columbia University Law School, from which institution he graduated in 1886. He passed the New York State bar examination in 1887 and began a corporation law practice that became so lucrative that he was able to retire in 1903. In that year he and his wife returned to Virginia where he bought Morven Park, a restored colonial plantation. Morven Park became a testing ground for Davis' agricultural experiments and ideas. In 1912 he acquired the *Southern Planter*, which he made the vehicle of both his agricultural and political ideas. Elected governor in 1917, he received support principally from the farmers who subscribed to his magazine and from politicians equally hostile to the dominant but declining state machine of US Senator Thomas S. Martin, Jr. As governor, Davis centralized the state budget, sought to centralize state purchasing, secured a Workman's Compensation Act, and pressed for other needed reforms. Essentially he dramatized Virginia's antique governmental system and through it the need for more governmental efficiency and service. Ironically it was upon this foundation that Harry Flood Byrd was later to build a relatively up-to-date and efficient Virginia State government.

Davis might well have emerged from the office of governor as the dominant state political leader had not Prohibition and World War I interfered. As it was, he emerged as the leading independent political leader. This he remained until his death—a termagant political voice often ranging full circle in his personal hostility to his successors. His contributions to his state were hampered by this termagancy. Still he did provide a foil for the dominant Martin, later Byrd, machine. His clarion call for agricultural reform and for honest, efficient government served to keep his enemies aware of the problems of the middle class and of the farmer in Virginia. His success in agricultural reform cannot be measured by production indexes, nor can his achievements in politics be measured by statutes passed, for Westmoreland Davis was a foundation builder. And on the foundations built by Davis and others like him, Virginia finally emerged from its dreams of the past to the realities of the twentieth century.

Kirby has broadened the meaning of the term Progressive and has much enhanced our knowledge of Virginia and the South during the Progressive era. He is to be commended for the thoroughness of his research and especially for the balance and judicious tone of his biography.

*Tulane University*

BENNETT H. WALL

THE CONFEDERATE NEGRO: VIRGINIA'S CRAFTSMEN AND MILITARY LABORERS, 1861-1865. By *James H. Brewer*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. xvii, 212. \$6.00.)

In this brief volume, Professor James H. Brewer describes and assesses the contribution of Negro craftsmen and military laborers to the Confederate war effort in Virginia. Throughout the war, large numbers of free blacks, who voluntarily worked for wages, and slaves, who were hired out by their masters, performed skilled, semi-skilled, and common labor for state and Confederate authorities and war industries. When voluntary recruitment failed to fill military needs, Virginia and the Confederacy impressed free Negroes and slaves. By choice and by necessity, black artisans

and laborers procured raw materials; worked in mines, ironworks, and other essential industries; served as teamsters, stevedores, boatmen, and railroad and canal workers; assisted in the production of ordnance and ships; built defensive works and fortifications; and nursed the sick and wounded in military hospitals. Although most of these Negroes were unskilled, the author shows that an impressive portion were skilled craftsmen—masons, mechanics, machinists, carpenters, railroad firemen and engineers, and blacksmiths.

The chief value of this book lies in its persuasive thesis, supported by statistical evidence, that black military and industrial laborers did indeed form “an integral part of the entire Virginia war effort,” and in its demonstration that Negro artisans were extensively and successfully employed, not just in the Tredegar Iron Works, but in many of the key war industries of the Old Dominion. Neither of these points is wholly new, as the works of Bell I. Wiley, Charles B. Dew, and others attest, but Brewer reinforces and supplements their findings.

On the other hand, the author is not as successful as Wiley in evaluating the impact of Negro mobilization on the attitudes of Southern whites. Nor does he make much effort to explain why Virginia Negroes showed no “appreciable disposition to desert or to impair the war effort,” or to analyze why black craftsmen and military laborers, particularly those who willingly supported the Confederacy, responded to the war as they did. Perhaps, as Brewer indicates, these are imponderables; yet, until there is a more convincing answer to these mysteries, the Confederate Negro will remain partly an enigma.

*Vanderbilt University*

JACQUE VOEGELI

CONFEDERATE SUPPLY. By *Richard D. Goff*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 275. \$8.75.)

RICHARD Goff states his thesis in the last sentence of his well-documented volume: “Reacting rather than planning, often arriving at workable policies too late, and making too many mistakes, [Jefferson] Davis and those around him bungled supply management and thus contributed in large measure to the defeat of the Confederacy.” Before the crushing blows of a persistent Northern military machine, the South died the slow, agonizing death of starvation, its larders emptied as much by its own ineffective leadership as by advancing armies. It was a nation struggling as much within itself as against the attacking enemy.

Facts and figures on war supplies and equipment rarely make for exciting reading, and this book generally follows the pattern. Nevertheless, it is a well-written and well-researched work. This is a study of all those supplies so necessary for a nation at war—textiles, food, munitions, leather, salt, horses and forage—and of the Confederate officials responsible for supplying their men with the accouterments of battle.

Key figures considered in this study include President Davis, his Secretaries of War, several quartermaster officials, and other individuals directly responsible for gathering war materiel. In their respective departments Isaac St. John and Josiah Gorgas stand out as dedicated, qualified officers. Lucius B. Northrop, as Commissary General, is more “victim than villain.” George W. Randolph showed real promise in his short tour as Secretary of War, a fact already recognized by Professor Archer Jones and others.

But Confederate leadership in general was faulty, and the author’s prime target for criticism is President Davis, the “key figure in Confederate administrative drift.”

Davis' lack of imagination, his inability to adjust to an ever-changing situation, and his strict constitutionalism limited his administrative effectiveness at a time when bold and innovative measures were imperative. Goff's evaluation of the Confederate President is well done. He outlines executive failures in some detail while recognizing the limitations placed on that office by the exigencies of the times, especially the loss of the border states where supplies were in such great abundance.

Also singled out for criticism are the other four Secretaries of War, especially James A. Seddon. Though the "pell-mell pace of expansion of the Confederate supply effort" limited effectiveness in any Confederate position of leadership, the first three officers accomplished little or nothing for the supply system, while Secretary Seddon showed strength only as a tool of the President and the preserver of a precarious *status quo*.

*Confederate Supply* has three important strengths. First, it is a well-balanced study and evaluation of those individuals who directed the Confederate search for men, means, and materiel in a war they had little chance of winning. Second, it is an excellent survey of the complex organizational structure of the noncombatant elements of the Confederate war command. Finally, it is a commendable study of the interplay within the Confederacy between supply and strategy, between the men in the field and those serving less glamorous assignments in offices and warehouses.

Truly the Confederacy never understood its vast logistical problems in a modern war, but with an ineffective supply and communications system, her suffering was intense. The armies of Grant, Sherman, and Thomas were indeed agents of destruction, but "there was an internal road to ruin, and the civilian administrators in Richmond presided over this process."

Wittenberg University

ROBERT HARTJE

THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF PAUL WALLACE GATES. Editor, *David M. Ellis*. Associate Editors, *Lee Benson* et al. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xxx, 425. \$12.50.)

PAUL Gates's students might appropriately have put together a collection of his own essays in his honor. Although some of his most characteristic work appears in the form of books constituting more thorough and sustained inquiries into sale and settlement of public lands along lines that interested Frederick J. Turner than any that Turner himself or others have completed, his articles on topics or scales quite distinct from those of his books are well known and ought to be more accessible. But Gates's seminar at Cornell has been one of the most productive of the profession, comparable to William B. Hesseltine's at Wisconsin. If its members had had more space at their disposal, they might usefully have assembled a bibliography of their own work, representing an important part of the literature of American economic history since the 1930's. It is significant that four of Gates's students are at Wisconsin, where economic history, as distinguished from the social and political history of agriculture, has again become a major field of study rather than an adjunct to Joseph Schafer's demographic work and Merle Curti's varied interests.

The essays that fifteen of Gates's twenty-three doctors (to 1967) wrote for this volume attest to the remarkable influence of a man whose mark appears on all of them but who insists that no one conform to his ideas and approaches. As Leslie Decker says, "his allies (including some of his students), his challengers (including

others of his students), and the independents (including still others of his students)" have added to his work on the speculator and on other themes. Some of the contributors have elected to contribute essays closer to Gates's interests and to economic history than to other projects on which they have been working recently, though each essay seems typical of its author's work. Only one essay is in intellectual history, Lee Benson's "The Historian as Mythmaker: Turner and the Closed Frontier," in which Benson reviews Turner's indebtedness to Achille Loria and analyzes his response and others' failure to respond to the *Census Bulletin* of 1891; at least three others of the fifteen contributors have written important studies of ideas for publication elsewhere. But only eight have chosen here to present essays that chiefly concern land, which figures in all of Gates's work in some form. All of the essays are worthy of publication; those that happen to seem most interesting to me include some that are most Gatesian in that they concern the disposition and ownership of land (such as Henry Cohen's on the vicissitudes of W. W. Corcoran, an absentee landlord, and Margaret Beattie Bogue's on the Scott farms of Illinois and Iowa) and some that diverge into other kinds of themes (such as Benson's, Harry Scheiber's on the flatboat trade, and Allan Bogue's on voting in the Thirty-Seventh Congress). Gates's students represent him more clearly in independence than in alliance. I do not find in any of their work quite the sense of moral zeal—that of the scholar rather than the muckraker—that pervades Gates's, though in general they move through massive and complex sources with much of his enthusiasm for ideas, free of commitment to dogma.

Frederick Merk contributes a foreword that appreciatively surveys Gates's writings and methods, itself a significant addition to the *Festschrift* and, as the tribute of a teacher to his student, a highly unusual one. Its presence recalls similarities between the writings of the two men, their constant interests, scrupulous thoroughness, and moral concern.

Having written in 1967, Merk was not able to survey Gates's most recent book, his monumental *History of Public Land Law Development* (1968), which the Public Land Law Review Commission commissioned in 1966. With Gates still teaching at Cornell and his rate of publication accelerating (three books in four years), it is obvious that a long addendum may be in order.

*University of Oregon*

EARL POMEROY

THE NEGRO IN MARYLAND POLITICS, 1870-1912. By *Margaret Law Callcott*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Eighty-seventh Series (1969), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 199. \$7.95.)

THIS study of black political participation in Maryland during the half century after emancipation is a competent and scholarly work in quantitative analysis. Lacking manuscript collections, the author was forced to depend mainly on newspapers, official documents, voter registration statistics, and election returns as source material. Seeking to dispel the stereotype that Negroes were politically apathetic, the author demonstrates conclusively that Maryland blacks, who comprised over fifty per cent of the Republican party membership from 1870 to 1895, voted at about the same rate as whites. Indeed, it was in large measure black voting power that carried the Republicans to statewide victory from 1895 to 1900.

Unlike the successes of other Southern states in disfranchising blacks, the Maryland Democratic party attempted and failed three times from 1890 through 1912 to eliminate

the black electorate. The Democrats were rebuffed primarily because Maryland had a genuine two-party system, and the GOP, not out of a sense of racial justice but for political survival, successfully fought disfranchisement with every weapon at its disposal.

Blacks themselves contributed to maintaining their suffrage. There had been a sizable free Negro population in the state before the Civil War; their economic self-reliance continued from 1870 through 1912 and found further expression in Maryland politics. And because numerically they did not pose a threat to white supremacy (they comprised 22.5 per cent of the total population in 1870 and only 17.9 per cent in 1910), they were tolerated by the whites. While the federal government employed enforcement acts to protect black voters from intimidation, race relations were not over-strained. The state was spared the bitterness of Reconstruction with its proscription of white voters.

Though the author capably illustrates black participation in elections, she overplays the shrewdness with which they employed the ballot and the relevance it had for them. They gained little from their white Republican allies, who were generous in platform promises but parsimonious in fulfilling them. Not only were blacks segregated and even excluded outright as delegates to state and local conventions, they also received only nominal party patronage. They were not backed by the GOP as candidates for office, and only in an extremely rare instance, such as the 1890 election of a Baltimore city councilman, was a black candidate successful. The nadir came when blacks, despite the "importance" of their ballot, were unable to call the Republican party to arms and prevent the passage of degrading Jim Crow legislation in the early 1900's.

In spite of my criticism of the author's emphasis, this monograph will be of significant value to students of regional, black, and political history.

*Boston College*

ANDREW BUNI

UNITED STATES OIL POLICY, 1890-1964: BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Gerald D. Nash*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 286. \$7.95.)

THE thesis of this book is that during the last seventy-five years government's relationship to business has become one of "comprehensive cooperation and supervision," rather than of passive regulation, and that this change has come about through a consensus between leaders of government and industry. This consensus has resulted in large part from the emergence of oligopoly as the chief form of American industry and from the profound economic effect of wars, depressions, and international tensions, which have characterized the period since 1917. Theodore Roosevelt had a clear vision of this whole development in his idea of the New Nationalism.

Nash illustrates his thesis in relating the history of the petroleum industry from 1890 to 1964. At the beginning of the period, the dominant form of the industry was monopoly, as represented by the Standard Oil Company. As the result of the discovery of important new oil fields, numerous technological advances, the opening of new markets, and the rise of aggressive new leadership, around the turn of the century the industry became oligopolistic. State and federal policies thereupon began to shift from trustbusting to regulation and cooperation. Fully adopted during World War I, these policies were followed during threats of an oil shortage and then of overproduction and the fear of the rapid exhaustion of the nation's oil reserves in the



years after the War. In the face of enormous overproduction that brought complete chaos to the industry, however, President Hoover rejected cooperation and regulation. His policy called for voluntary measures by the industry to limit production. When this approach proved ineffective, state governments instituted direct production controls. Under the New Deal, the federal government introduced new administrative measures to resume cooperation between government and the oil industry. These were further developed during World War II and have been maintained since then.

The consensus that has prevailed during most of the twentieth century among policy makers in government and industry has been based upon two common overriding objectives—economic stability and conservation. For the petroleum industry the principal concern has been profitable and efficient operations; for government it has been protecting the economic well-being of the people and assuring an adequate supply of oil, especially for national defense.

Because the natural gas industry developed later, federal policies formulated between the 1930's and the 1960's were comparable to those affecting the oil industry at the beginning of the century. They were antimonopolistic and were marked by conflict rather than cooperation. The main object has been the maintenance of reasonable prices for the consumer.

This is a soundly conceived, carefully researched, and clearly presented study of one of the nation's major industries.

*Louisiana State University*

JOHN L. LOOS

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: CONFIDENT IMPERIALIST. By *David H. Burton*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 203. \$7.50.)

DAVID H. Burton, who describes himself as a student of ideas rather than diplomacy, has written the first book-length exposition of Theodore Roosevelt's imperialist ideology. Drawing upon largely familiar material, he contends that this ideology was shaped by childhood upbringing and adventures on the Dakota frontier and not by a book-nourished Darwinism. He adds his voice to those others who have seen Roosevelt and his pith-helmeted companions as men concerned with race, character, progress, and duty. Although they believed in promoting American exports, their brows were not lined from incessant worry about the issue.

Burton is most original in his subtle discussion of Roosevelt's selective acceptance of Darwinist thought. His analysis is intriguing when he develops his thesis that Roosevelt had two basically different motives for his actions vis-à-vis small nations: the urge to exert control and the wish to promote progress. His book is weakest in its failure to emphasize *Realpolitik* pure and simple as a Rooseveltian impulse.

Burton is sympathetic toward Roosevelt, but not uncritical. The privileged life of the twenty-fifth President, he believes, left him ill prepared to tolerate the frailties of more common men. He also charges him with urging simplistic solutions for complex problems, neglecting to see the inescapability and merit of nationalism among colonial peoples, and blithely failing to recognize that his so-called world movement would eventually be destroyed by conflict among the Great Powers leading it.

There is, unfortunately, much to regret in this volume. Burton makes some flat-footed errors, such as his statement that a single book turned a generation of Englishmen into imperialists. He fails to back up some of his most important assertions, such as the alleged confluence of Roosevelt's imperialism and American ideals, the direct relationship he sees between Roosevelt's posture as an imperialist and his political suc-

cess at home, and the direct link between his Roughrider days in the Dakota Bad Lands and his policy in the Philippines. He is uncertain how to treat Roosevelt's economic thought. He relies far too heavily on imprecisely defined phrases like "world movement" and "confident imperialism."

In addition, the book suffers from poor writing, especially in the first three and a half chapters. One quotation (from p. 63) will illustrate Burton's penchant for obscure verbiage: "That the President in the all-out pursuit of a national policy objective did not take time out to deliberate studiously on the grounds for his action in order to determine some priority of motivation does not prove that there was no such priority, however unconscious, plus a blending of various motivational factors into what can be termed instinct." If Burton's publisher had played the role of rigorous editor, everyone would have been better off.

*American University*

ROBERT L. BEISNER

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS: HISTORIAN OF THE AMERICAN DREAM. By Allan Nevins. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. 315. \$6.95.)

No relation to the others of his name who have written and made so much of American history, James Truslow Adams was a New York stockbroker who despised the competitive hurly-burly of business life. At the age of thirty-five, having accumulated a hundred thousand dollars, he retired to the country to indulge literary tastes. His historical writing, beginning with a modest chronicle of the Long Island village in which he lived, expanded in scope steadily. In succession he produced a history of the whole township, a trilogy on New England before 1850, a volume on the mid-eighteenth century for the collaborative *History of American Life*, and—his most influential work—a general interpretation of American history, *The Epic of America*. As his reach extended, Adams became dependent on a mass audience to support his gentlemanly style of life. Yet he also became increasingly alienated from America's mass society. For a time in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties Adams' forays as a cultural critic were much in demand in the leading magazines; he maintained an appealing if unstable balance between a dislike of Puritanism, frontier, and American business mores on one hand and, on the other, a patriotic belief in the promise of American life. During the New Deal years Adams lost his balance and much of his audience. He was now an old fogey.

Adams and Allan Nevins became fast friends in the early 1920's, when the two men, a dozen years apart in age, were enjoying their first successes as free-lance scholars. Their paths diverged in the 'thirties, but they never lost touch. When Adams died in 1949 Nevins as literary executor brought his voluminous papers to Columbia University. The present volume contains a judicious selection from that correspondence, preceded by a one-hundred-page memoir on Adams' life. Although no serious effort is made to analyze his ideas or his significance, this is an informative as well as a warmhearted book. Adams was a vivid letter writer, whose correspondence illuminates a genteel, traditionalist segment of Anglo-American literary culture in the years between the two world wars.

*University of Michigan*

JOHN HIGHAM

AMERICAN NUNCIO: CARDINAL ALOISIUS MUENCH. By *Colman J. Barry, O.S.B.* (Collegeville, Minn.: Saint John's University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 379. \$5.95.)

THIS attractively bound, legibly printed, and profusely illustrated volume is a credit to the Saint John's University Press. More importantly, it will be indispensable to the student of post-World War II Germany. Of its 379 pages, over two hundred treat of the important and unique role played by the late Cardinal Muench in that peculiarly disturbed country.

In Dom Colman Barry the Nuncio has an admiring, but by no means uncritical, biographer. One is impressed by the candid allusions, for example, to Muench's ponderous literary style and, even more significantly, to the problems caused the Church by various ethnic rivalries among its members. The first forty-nine pages, which deal with Muench's childhood in Milwaukee, the early years of his priesthood, and his government of the Diocese of Fargo in North Dakota, will have surprising appeal to the historian of the American Midwest; the final pages, which treat of the "Cardinal in Curia," have the fascination that Vatican life always seems to convey. Unlike the style of his subject, Barry's style is eminently readable.

There are seven valuable appendixes. Unfortunately, and astonishingly, a bibliography is not provided and the backnotes, while they are copious, do not suffice. Many statements and direct quotations are not annotated. This is deplorable in what is otherwise a well-executed work.

*Brenau College*

JAMES H. BAILEY

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES. Volume V, SKETCHES OF 21 MAGAZINES, 1905-1930. With a cumulative index to the five volumes. By *Frank Luther Mott.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 595. \$15.00.)

THIS is a book to be read with mixed feelings—deep regret that Dean Mott did not live to complete this volume and begin Volume VI (in which he had planned to bring an account stretching over two centuries down to the present day), but pleased surprise that we have, four years after his long illness and death at the age of 78, as much of Volume V as we do.

His daughter, Mildred Mott Wedel, who prepared this volume for press with the varied help of several other people, tells us that he had intended to devote individual treatment to a total of thirty-one magazines that reached their heights between 1905 and 1930. Ten of them he did not get to at all: *Christian Century*, *Field and Stream*, *Liberty* (a timed magazine for slow readers), *Masses*, *Physical Culture* (what fun he, and we, would have had with that one), *Pictorial Review*, *Reader's Digest* (concerning which we might have anticipated a treatment as fair as it would have been unsparing), *Red Book* (redivivus), *Saturday Review*, and that ripe fruit, *True Story*. Concerning the *New Yorker* it can be presumed that Mott intended to treat it in his final volume at its climax between the outbreak of World War II and the death of Harold Ross.

Since Mott had not begun his customary essays on various types of magazines, usually making up about one-half of each volume, we may, with some temerity, attempt to take the twenty-one magazines that he did treat out of their purely alphabetical order and place them in some five or six rough groupings. The first sketch, of the *American Mercury*, is in some respects the best. With additional information furnished

by Lawrence Spivak out of his own recollections, Mrs. Wedel is able to continue her father's tracing of that magazine's rise and noonday through its descent to the sub-literature of the Far Right. In the same general category we may group the short-lived *Appleton's Booklovers Magazine*, the *Golden Book Magazine*, briefly soaring in its role, as Mott epitomizes it, as "a kind of jack-daw—picking out shining bits of literature," and the *Smart Set*, owned by that journalistic buccaneer, Colonel William D'Alton Mann, and itself the progenitor of the *Mercury*.

Far more widely circulated and financially successful was another group, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *House Beautiful*. In the news and news analysis category we have *Current History* (at its height under the New York *Times* the best American monthly summary of occurrences in every part of the world), *Everybody's Magazine* (part of the muckraker movement), the *Freeman* of the eccentric Albert Jay Nock (subsidized by the union of two Chicago packinghouse fortunes), *Hampton's Broadway Magazine*, shifting with the journalistic winds from naughtiness to muckraking, the *New Republic*, also dependent on subsidies from the wealthy *Success* (which wasn't for long), and *Time* (whose Time-style is, in its unrevised form here, less effectively essayed by Mott than Wolcott Gibbs succeeded in doing). *Editor & Publisher* stands alone as an example of a successful trade publication, but not alone in its special pleading. Finally there are the little magazines: the *Fugitive*, with its literary agrarianism, the *Little Review* of Margaret Anderson, the *Midland* of John Towner Frederick, and Harriet Monroe's *Poetry*, and their sedate cousins, the *South Atlantic Review* and the *Yale Review*.

Inescapably, there are matters of phraseology that the author presumably would have changed in a final draft. He would probably not, for example, have used the term "the lion's share" in its permissive rather than classic sense (p. 173). These are venial flaws compared to the additions that have been attached to the unfinished manuscript. Robert J. Palmer has contributed a convenient consolidated index of all five volumes, and the illustrations once again recall the spirit and image of a forgotten past. Howard Mumford Jones, who reviewed Volume IV in the New York *Times Book Review*, has written an appreciative foreword in which he finds it appropriate that Mott was born near What Cheer, Iowa, where his father edited a weekly newspaper entitled the *Patriot*. Finally we have Mott's own unfinished account of how he was launched upon the undertaking of this canon. It is good to have an unexpected visit, however brief, from this charming, wise, humane, and altogether admirable man and scholar.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

BIG STEEL AND THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION: A STUDY IN BUSINESS-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS. By *Melvin I. Urofsky*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1969. Pp. xxxii, 364. \$8.00.)

THE growing current of revisionist works on the Progressive period threatens to eventually wash away the foundations of modern liberal historiography. Urofsky's study of business-government relations adds to this tide of reappraisals. The author finds that Big Steel's relations with the administrations of Woodrow Wilson were a study in compromise, not conflict. Even before the First World War began, an "entente" was emerging. During the war, the steel men (and especially Judge Gary of United States Steel) won a clear victory over the government; the New Competition, which was merely a sophisticated way to refer to the policies advocated by large firms, won out

over Wilson's New Freedom. Big Steel's triumph was completed in 1920, when the Supreme Court found that US Steel was not an illegal monopoly, as defined by the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Some aspects of Urofsky's interesting account are troublesome. While generally his research is very thorough, in at least one instance, this is not the case. The author could easily have settled the questions he raises about the submarines Bethlehem Steel built for the British (1914-15) by consulting Gaddis Smith's excellent book on this subject. More important, however, is the problem presented by the New Left context which the author employs. He concludes that Gabriel Kolko "has come closer than anyone in delineating the business orientation of progressive politics." Urofsky's concept of an "entente" is, of course, compatible with Kolko's major theme. But my reading of the evidence offered by Urofsky's case study suggests that his data really call for a less extreme brand of revisionism—something along the lines followed by Samuel P. Hays and Robert H. Wiebe. In Urofsky's volume we do not find Big Steel actively seeking an alliance that would enable these large corporations to achieve their private economic objectives through public means. At best, Judge Gary seems to have wanted to be left alone. Even during the war, the government took the initiative. The resulting "entente," if that is the proper word, was clearly a makeshift, temporary arrangement; and this is certainly not what Kolko's interpretation says.

Despite these problems, Urofsky's book is a valuable, revisionist study. The author is fairminded in his appraisals of men and events; he gives us a full and forthright account even of those episodes that do not support his general conclusions. The book's major contribution is a much-needed study of the steel industry's relations with the government during the First World War. In these chapters, the author also provides a substantial amount of new information on the War Industries Board and other government agencies. Urofsky's judgment of Woodrow Wilson is harsh. But he offers solid evidence to sustain his charge and to push forward the continuing revision of Wilson's role in history as a President and Progressive leader.

*Johns Hopkins University*

LOUIS GALAMBOS

THE CASE THAT WILL NOT DIE: *COMMONWEALTH VS. SACCO AND VANZETTI*. By *Herbert B. Ehrmann*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. xxix, 576. \$12.50.)

WRITERS on the Sacco-Vanzetti case deal with one or more of the following matters: the question of the innocence or the guilt of the men in terms of the evidence presented at the trial and discovered later; the quality of the administration of justice, in the light of all that is known about the trial and its context; the case as a series of events in time—its social, political, and global aspects. The relationships among these interests, often explored in a single book, calls for elasticity of reception. The present study, mainly legal and mainly about the evidence and the appellate proceedings, offers such a challenge.

Herbert B. Ehrmann appears to be the last surviving major legal figure of the proceedings; he was junior counsel to William G. Thompson from May 1926 to the executions on August 23, 1927. In 1933 he wrote a useful and persuasive book, *The Untried Case*, focusing on the need to consider the Morelli gang as possible perpetrators of the South Braintree holdup; in 1969 *The Case That Will Not Die* presents the whole range of the octogenarian author's experience and thought about the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Although this study presents only a limited quantity of new evidence, and nothing of startling importance, Ehrmann skillfully groups selected elements, offers fresh observations on their meaning, and provides powerful emphasis on their weight. Examples are the overwhelming evidence that two cars were involved in the getaway, and the stark contrast of that fact to the childlike interest of Sacco and Vanzetti in an essentially defunct vehicle; the visualizable nature of the actual killings and the derivative strong likelihood that the murderers were known to their victims—which Sacco and Vanzetti were not; and the mysterious story of the shotgun shells and their fate in the jury room at the Plymouth trial (and here Ehrmann brings in genuinely new material). As an example of brilliant argument one may note the critique of Judge Thayer's totally incompetent decision of October 23, 1926.

The author writes lucidly and with comprehensive accuracy on many large matters and with scrupulous scholarly reference to the record. It is unfortunate that he is, additionally, prone to overkill, and that he needlessly depends upon such statements as "we, too, may speculate," "my search discovered what actually happened in the Sacco-Vanzetti case," and "His [the investigator's] notes could have read as follows. . . ."

Because of the author's participation in the case, the study is itself a primary document, perhaps the last to be written. The details of personal recollection are of special interest and will provide both the general reader and the historian with a heightened sense of presence in those times. The approach in some matters involves a delicate balance. Thus, this prime actor reveals unusual tenderness for the ineptitude of the defense counsel (duly noted but barely blamed), the horror of the murderous half-truth told by the head of the Massachusetts State Police (noted but tolerated beyond comprehension), and the criminal connivance in that lie by a prosecutor later to become a judge (whose subsequent fine reputation is pleasantly indicated). Mr. Ehrmann could be accused of that excessive "brotherliness" that sometimes operates among lawyers; more likely he is simply not an individual given to angry castigation of evil. In any event, *The Case That Will Not Die* rejects the dogfight spirit that has characterized some of the fairly recent Sacco-Vanzetti discussion, and is thereby all the more useful to the historian.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS JOUGHIN

YIELD OF THE YEARS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Dexter Perkins*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. 245. \$6.95.)

It is quite possible that of all living American historians, Dexter Perkins is most widely known among the members of his profession. For many years he was secretary of the American Historical Association, and after that office was abolished he was still prominent in nearly all of its national meetings. Boston-born, unembarrassed by financial anxieties, educated in private schools and at Harvard, as much at home in Europe as in America, he was never condescending, always ready to welcome the rawest newcomer from the wild and woolly West. If anyone in the history guild ever said an unkind word about him, I for one did not happen to hear it. Long recognized as the pre-eminent student and interpreter of the Monroe Doctrine, his standing as a scholar was, and remains, unimpeachable. A brilliant public speaker, he has addressed audiences on literally hundreds of American campuses. A dedicated teacher, he has left his mark on thousands of students.

His autobiography is naturally a delight to read. A born storyteller, he recounts the major events of his life with refreshing candor. His book abounds with perceptive



comments upon an incredible number of prominent personalities, both European and American, whom it was his good fortune to meet. He is somewhat reticent about his family life, but his contentment with it, and his pride in his wife and sons, shows through.

After a single year, 1914-1915, at the University of Cincinnati, Perkins went to the University of Rochester, where he remained until 1953. This was not because of any lack of calls from other institutions, for he admits declining an offer from Johns Hopkins University, and there must have been others. Indeed, I once tried in vain to entice him to California. His loyalty to Rochester and to the cause of undergraduate teaching seems laudable enough, but the Rochester history department did not institute a program for the Ph.D. until 1947. It is a pity that he had so few years in which to train candidates for the doctorate according to the admirable pattern he helped devise. Eventually, however, he surrendered to the blandishments of Cornell and took up residence in Ithaca for the remainder of his academic career.

Perkins reserves the last four chapters of his book for a topical treatment of "Scholarship," "Teaching History," "Politics," and "Foreign Policy." His evaluation of his numerous books and articles is candid and comprehensive. His chapter on teaching goes farther than the mere recording of his own experience; he deplores the tendency to set higher store by the written than by the spoken word and stresses the importance of history as an essential background for reaching intelligent decisions. His romp through national politics during his lifetime reveals what he thought and what he now thinks of prominent men and national decisions. And his reflections on American foreign policy from Wilson to Johnson are both wise and lucid.

It is not without significance that the index, which this book fortunately contains, lists nearly every prominent name in American history and politics during Perkins' lifetime.

*University of California, Berkeley*

JOHN D. HICKS

THE NEW DEAL AND THE STATES: FEDERALISM IN TRANSITION. By James T. Patterson. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 226. \$6.50.)

A MAIN theme of Patterson's volume is variety. In Chapter I, on the 1920's, a decade when positive action by state governments was limited, diversity is not pronounced. In Chapter II, on the period 1929-1933, dissimilarity is dominant. Localities begged the states for help, and the states responded "in a bewildering variety of ways." This heterogeneity, yielding categories within categories, persists through the succeeding, topical chapters.

Patterson's second main theme is limitations: the limitations of achievement in the fields of cooperative federalism and state progressivism (the "Little New Deals") and the limitations on accomplishment in these areas. He weighs possibilities and gains against obstacles—historical, institutional, ideological, financial, personal, and political—but there is no "middle-ism" here. Patterson deems certain New Deal policies, especially the use of the formula of matching grants in relief and social security, harmful both to cooperative federalism and the needy; he concludes that liberals who stressed federal timidity had a stronger case than conservatives who perceived a Leviathan state; and he does not claim that the New Dealers did all they could have done. Nevertheless, he comes down unequivocally on the side of limitations on achievement.

Recurringly, and most emphatically in his chapters on the governors ("Liberals,

Conservatives, and Nobodies") and state politics, Patterson underlines the powerlessness of FDR, Farley, Hopkins, and other federal officials to affect the situations in the states. There were, to be sure, significant advances in state government, but they hardly amounted to a revolutionary development. The New Deal, moreover, was only partly responsible for these gains. In accounting for the few "Little New Deals," Patterson cites recent studies by political scientists that show greater correlation between socioeconomic development and public policy than between political factors—such as the identity of the majority party or the degree of its dominance—and policy.

Patterson has synthesized a vast body of secondary literature, including numerous doctoral dissertations, and his own findings in archives and manuscripts from coast to coast, to produce a work that is occasionally thin, as he notes in his preface, because it is pioneering. Perhaps in a decade or so another synthesis will appear. Its author, as well as those who provide its components, will be indebted to Patterson's impressive effort.

Incidentally, if, as one now often hears, the New Dealers' national approach to domestic problems is outdated, there is little in Patterson's account of the states' performance to commend the alternative of "New Federalism."

*Bowling Green State University*

BERNARD STERNISHER

THE BLUE RIDGE PARKWAY. By *Harley E. Jolley*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 172. \$6.95.)

THE Blue Ridge Parkway, presently a scenic mountain roadway connecting the Great Smoky Mountains and Shenandoah national parks, was a depression-born project "that gained enough momentum in the depressed years to prove its merits and earn permanent status." This volume chronicles the relationships between local, state, and national politicians in their scramble, between 1933 and 1937, to determine the Parkway's eventual route. Vivid descriptive passages, a catalog of construction problems, anecdotes of mountaineer reaction to the high road, and a brief treatment of the controversies arising over right of way add color and dimension to this lean political study.

The author gives credit to Virginia Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Sr., and Public Works Administration official Theodore E. Straus "for providing the vision, the political know-how and the dedication" that initiated the Parkway. The notion had been in the public domain since 1909 when North Carolinian Joseph Hyde Pratt first projected a scenic mountain road. Virginia's success with the Skyline Drive in the late 1920's encouraged the Parkway boosters and, in November 1933, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes declared the Parkway a "make work" project. On this occasion, neither Ickes' meticulousness nor New Deal blunders were responsible for the long gestation period of the scheme. Tennessee and North Carolina were engaged in a bitter squabble over the route until November 1934; then, because of superior political maneuvers, more impressive scenic attractions, and the argument that Tennessee had received the Tennessee Valley Authority, North Carolina was awarded the entire mileage south of Virginia. In August 1935 construction began in North Carolina, while Virginia, more cautious and less cooperative with federal authorities, waited until July 1936. Lawyers involved in contested scenic easement cases and the ubiquitous tourist and construction interests probably profited from the work project more than the unemployed mountain residents. Jolley infers that administrators preferred to remove the mountain poor from the view of tourists rather than meet their problems. Historical sites, mountain

cabins, and farms were conserved in the manner of colonial Williamsburg. In 1968 the final segments of the four hundred and sixty-nine miles of Parkway were begun.

Jolley demonstrates an admirable expertise in the use of state and national archival collections and incorporates interviews of politicians and Parkway officials to add substance to his narrative. Other than generalized claims, no evidence is presented as to the degree that the Parkway brought relief to the isolated and culturally backward mountain people. Jolley neglects Tennessee records and the manuscripts of Pratt, Carter Glass, and Franklin Roosevelt. A plenitude of maps and illustrations, plus a twenty-one page Parkway log, complete this crisply edited work.

*East Carolina University*

HENRY C. FERRELL, JR.

A LONG ROW OF CANDLES: MEMOIRS AND DIARIES [1934-1954]. By C. L. Sulzberger. ([New York:] Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xvi, 1061. \$12.50.)

THE title of this fat volume is not very descriptive. The memoirs consist of the first 238 pages in which Sulzberger, of the *New York Times*, recalls his experiences as a young foreign correspondent in Central Europe in the ominous year of Munich and in the Balkans and Russia from the outbreak of war to 1943. At this point the memoirs end and the diaries begin. The following 800 pages, however, do not constitute a diary in the usual sense of the term. They are the notes that Sulzberger made on his interviews with important personages, informed officials, and interesting little people all over Europe through 1954. Here he ends his account with a semicolon, promising another volume in due course.

The initial memoir is a good piece of writing, full of adventures (both grim and funny) and lively descriptions of vivid characters, mostly Slavic. The most valuable part of the book for the historian, however, is the collection of diary notes, which are raw material of primary importance. Sulzberger got to nearly everyone of consequence. He had a sharp eye, a good ear, and a steady hand. He asked the right questions, missed no nuances, and set it all down with the objective precision of a trained reporter. (It is worth noting that "oral history" did not begin with the mechanical recorder.) Best of all, these entries or jottings are reproduced in their original state, unretouched by the brush of hindsight. This means, however, that all the original errors and misjudgments and hearsay are carefully preserved. Occasionally Sulzberger throws in a bracketed note giving a useful bit of *post facto* commentary on the text, but for the most part he does not do so, even in places that scream for it one way or another. In 1943, for instance, Sulzberger picked up the story, presumably from an otherwise well-informed but unidentified diplomatic source, that at the Casablanca Conference in January of that year Churchill had agreed to accept Roosevelt's unconditional surrender formula only in return for the President's granting him the "over-all conduct of Eastern Mediterranean affairs." This bit of "inside dope" is solemnly repeated no fewer than three times throughout the book, although authoritative later publications, such as Churchill's memoirs and the *Foreign Relations* volume on Casablanca, give no support to such an ingenious myth. *Caveat lector!*

Sulzberger's work will be of most value to the historian for the verbal sketches of notables whom he interviewed, such as Eisenhower, J. F. Dulles, Churchill, King Paul of Greece, Tito, Djilas, Archbishop Stepinac, De Gaulle, Franco, and many more. But the reader to whom time is precious will not want to plow through these 800 pages of largely unrelated interviews on a multitude of subjects covering a dozen years. Fortunately the index picks up all the significant names, so that the book can be used

for selective biographical reference. There are nuggets here of unique value to the biographer and to the historian of international affairs.

*U. S. Department of State*

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

FEDERAL RELIEF ADMINISTRATION AND THE ARTS: THE ORIGINS AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE ARTS PROJECT OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. By *William F. McDonald*. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 869. \$17.50.)

THIS impressive book has been long in the making. That it now appears, some twenty-five years since its inception, is a tribute to the determination of both author and publisher. Early in World War II the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies cooperated to support a history of the so-called Four Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration, which were then in the process of being terminated by the government. Several scholars as well as two previous directors initiated the research and wrote preliminary drafts before Professor McDonald, a student of ancient history by profession, assumed leadership of the project and composed the finished manuscript.

It seems necessary to point all this out because *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* is a work that is limited, and to a considerable extent determined, by its provenance. Except for a reflective concluding chapter, the book stands as it was written from 1943 to 1945; at least there are no references to subsequent data. This is history written contemporaneously with the events and almost exclusively from the primary archival sources. Although the major attention is to the origins and administration, rather than the substance, of the Four Arts Projects, the point of view is not official or uncritical; yet it is eminently fair.

The first third of the book analyzes the relation of the depression to the arts and the nature of governmental patronage and responsibility for work relief to employable but destitute artists, actors, writers, or musicians. Following a few inadequate efforts by private or local agencies, the federal government under the New Deal provided some funds through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration. But an effective relief program was not enacted until President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins agreed in early summer 1935 to establish as the WPA-sponsored Federal Project Number One the Federal Art, Theater, Music, and Writers' Programs. Although the backing of local sponsors was enlisted, there were objections, often from state WPA officials, to the relatively higher costs of white-collar and professional relief projects. FDR, despite his and Mrs. Roosevelt's strong personal interests in the arts, insisted with political realism that Congress and the public would not tolerate a program, no matter how great its professional accomplishments, that was not based primarily on the need of individuals for relief.

Still, controversy enveloped the program, especially the Art and Theater Projects. The author indicts Hallie Flanagan for failing to decentralize the Theater Project. It was, he believes, too much a New York City theater, over-influenced by Broadway professionalism. Yet the Music Project, which enforced the highest standards, enjoyed the least public criticism. The Writers' Project, although it suffered more than the others from an identity crisis compounded by the difficulty of defining a writer, nevertheless probably made the most lasting contribution through the "American Guide Series" and the Historical Records Survey. Within its framework of administrative history, Professor McDonald's account is undoubtedly definitive. At the same time,

scholars will want to consult those monographs and memoirs published in recent years, which have treated in more detail the substantive achievements of the individual WPA Arts Projects.

*State University of New York, Albany*

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

THE MOST UNSORDID ACT: LEND-LEASE, 1939-1941. By *Warren F. Kimball*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 281. \$7.50.)

THE Lend-Lease Act of March 1941 was the most important American move toward assisting Nazi Germany's enemies, prior to entrance into the Second World War, and it is good to have an authoritative account. There is not much pertinent manuscript material that the author failed to see. Indeed, the principal gap in his documentation is the Morgenthau diary for the period from January 20, 1941, and it seems probable that he has found enough other material to make his lack of access to the diary (now open) of no large importance.

Kimball shows that the principal architects of the Lend-Lease Act were Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., together with Oscar Cox of the Treasury Department and, on the British side, Arthur Purvis and Sir Frederick Phillips. President Roosevelt came late to a realization of Britain's crisis, refusing to precipitate a great congressional debate on foreign policy until after his re-election, until after he had become convinced that the British were on the verge of bankruptcy, and until he had calculated a favorable temper in Congress. When Roosevelt at last gave Morgenthau the green light, he never once pressed the button for caution. Again, it seems to be a case of the President's seeming disorganization and offhanded, almost careless, approach to large issues, but at long last an ability to take the moment's issue through to success. Roosevelt was duly considerate of the prerogatives of Congress, as in the first weeks of 1941 he conferred almost incessantly with his cabinet and congressional lieutenants and pushed passage of H.R. 1776.

The book has an interesting explanation of why the Lend-Lease Bill obtained its peculiar numerical designation in the House of Representatives. The majority leader, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, had received from Roosevelt the task of sponsoring the bill in the House—and with it the prospect of McCormack's name attaching to the bill, which would prove a large embarrassment in the majority leader's Irish constituency. The House parliamentarian, aware of McCormack's discomfiture, realizing that bill numbers for the session had gotten to the 1700's anyway, arranged the special number.

The present study may have a little more detail than some readers will wish, although the intricacy of maneuvering Lend-Lease through Congress is a fascinating study in administration and politics. It is difficult otherwise to fault this lively, colorful, shrewdly intelligent account of a major event in twentieth-century American foreign policy.

*Indiana University*

ROBERT H. FERRELL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE CONFERENCES AT WASHINGTON, 1941-1942, AND CASABLANCA, 1943. [Department of State Publication 8414.] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1968. Pp. lxx, 895. \$5.50.)

THIS volume continues the special series on the top-level Allied conferences of the Second World War. The meetings at Cairo and Teheran, Malta and Yalta, and

Potsdam have been dealt with previously; forthcoming volumes will treat the Third Washington Conference (1943) and the two meetings at Quebec in 1943 and 1944.

The editors have done their usual splendid job of recovering and organizing available source materials for "First Washington" (December 22, 1941–January 14, 1942), "Second Washington" (June 19–June 25, 1942), and Casablanca (January 14–January 24, 1943). It is no fault of theirs that the results are disappointing, that the volume reflects the conferees' almost exclusive concern with "non-diplomatic" matters, as well as the paucity of information about what, in fact, transpired in the numerous encounters of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill during these meetings. This compilation serves to emphasize the sketchy preparation—at least on the American side—for the conferences, the lack of coordination characteristic of them, and the pitifully small amount of official documentation regarding the course of discussions. Roosevelt and Churchill met on twenty-five occasions during "First Washington": the Department of State Historical Office was unable to find documentation for seventeen of these meetings, for six meetings minutes by War Department officials and notes by military leaders were located, and Harry Hopkins described two of the conversations in post-conference memoranda. Information about the conversations of the President and Prime Minister at Casablanca is even more sparse. As a result, these conferences are summits lost in a haze of intentional (or merely inexcusable) failure of United States leaders to record, or to have recorded, what occurred.

When reading this volume one unavoidably recalls the architectural axiom, "form follows function." On grounds of its contribution to historical understanding, one may ask whether the effort represented the wisest expenditure of the time and editorial talents of an overburdened Historical Office. Its symmetry, which derives from the superbly edited presentation, is perhaps sufficient justification: anyone who desires to know what transpired on any one day at any of these conferences may now take down this compendium and open it to the pertinent page. The problem, regrettably, is that there are not many pages that students of the period will term "significant." Of the important subjects dealt with at these conferences—strategy, the French imbroglio, unconditional surrender, to name a few—the most novel information concerns military affairs. For other subjects, little is provided here that is not available in the *Foreign Relations* chronological series or in memoirs and scholarly works already published.

*University of Kansas*

THEODORE A. WILSON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume IX, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 8452.] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. x, 1466. \$7.00.)

SCHOLARS interested in inter-American relations will find this thick volume well worth examination. The initial section covers various regional problems, including the Chapultepec Conference, the Rodríguez Larreta proposal, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between some Latin American nations and the Soviet Union. There are also surveys of the twenty nations, ranging from one page for Honduras to 194 for Argentina.

In 1945 the hemispheric policy of the United States combined efforts to ensure the cooperation of all the American republics in ending the war against the Axis nations and to arrange for a harmonious approach to the problems of peace. The main obstacle was Argentina, which during 1945 came increasingly under the influence of Juan



Perón. The Argentine problem pervades this volume. Prior to and during the Chapultepec Conference, the United States endeavored to keep the divisive Argentine question off the agenda. Later, it approved of the invitation extended to Argentina by the conference to adhere to the Chapultepec Declaration. After Argentina declared war on Germany and Japan in March 1945, the United States pressed efforts to force Argentina to adhere to other provisions of the Chapultepec Declaration—to suppress Nazi activities and guarantee basic human rights and freedoms. Ambassador Spruille Braden, openly anti-Perón, intervened in Argentine affairs in ways that clearly violated the spirit of the nonintervention pledges made by the United States during the Good Neighbor era. A valuable contribution of this volume is the record it provides of the Argentine problem and Braden's sometimes unfortunate efforts to solve it.

Students of inter-American affairs will also find useful the documents on the Rodríguez Larreta proposal. Stimulated by events in neighboring Argentina and urged on by the United States, Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, foreign minister of Uruguay, circulated his proposal in November 1945. Its key section argued that “‘Non-intervention’ cannot be converted into a right to invoke one principle in order to be able to violate all other principles with immunity. Therefore a multilateral collective action . . . aimed at achieving in a spirit of brotherly prudence the mere reestablishment of essential rights, and directed toward the fulfillment of freely contracted juridical obligations, must not be held to injure the government affected, but rather it must be recognized as being taken for the benefit of all, including the country which has been suffering under such a harsh regime.” Although the United States endorsed the Rodríguez Larreta proposal, most of the Latin American nations felt that it constituted a threat to the principle of nonintervention, and they declined to support it. The net result was embarrassment for the United States and an intimation that the sacred principle of nonintervention was really not too sacred to the “colossus of the north.”

As the country surveys show, in 1945 there were several problems common to the relations of the United States and most of the individual Latin American republics. These included Latin American concern about the curtailment of lend-lease aid and United States attempts to collect lend-lease payments; efforts, pushed by the United States, to prevent the operation of Axis business firms in the hemisphere; continuation or establishment of United States military missions in Latin America; trade agreements; and United States economic aid for Latin America. For those interested in such problems, this volume provides much useful documentation. What stands out is the failure of the United States to do what in retrospect appears to have been absolutely necessary—to initiate a broad program of economic assistance. A United States representative at the Chapultepec Conference, in reporting the remarks of the Mexican Foreign Minister, hit the nail on the head: “The Minister feels that upon the solution found for the economic problems of this hemisphere depends the reality of continental unity. He pointed out that people are no longer moved by pamphlets filled with high sounding principles and that the way to the heart of the masses is through raising the standard of living and bringing about the economic development of the countries of Latin America.”

Most of what is included in this collection is interesting and valuable. The Historical Office of the Department of State, which prepared it, deserves the thanks of all students of inter-American relations. We can only regret the time lag of a quarter century.

*Macalester College*

ROGER R. TRASK

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST IN THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION.

By *David A. Frier*. (Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 238. \$8.95.)

IN view of the paucity of scholarly literature on the Eisenhower administration, this book by the political scientist David A. Frier must be viewed as an important contribution. What he does is to recount the cases of conflict of national and personal interest which were publicly judged by "standards of personal ethics and morality." By these imprecise measures, Frier has no trouble finding an abundance of instances during the Eisenhower administration—which rode into office partly because of its crusade against corruption—wherein high officials could not distinguish between their private and public affairs. The reader is treated to a spirited account, based on careful use of printed sources, which includes Nixon's slush fund, the Dixon-Yates contract, and Sherman Adams' disgrace.

The key issue was whether officials should in any way serve, or seem to serve, their own private interests or the interests of those close to them. Frier's position is clear: An official should not do anything that would leave him suspected of a conflict of interest, and the results of the cases studied indicate that that was the rule the public expected to be applied. This standard is evident from the number of resignations under fire: of a Republican National Committee chairman, the assistant to the President, an Air Force secretary, a commissioner of public buildings, a general services administrator, an Interstate Commerce Commission chairman, an Assistant Secretary of Defense, and two members of the Federal Communications Commission.

Frier thinks that the frequency of conflict-of-interest scandals during the Eisenhower administration was a consequence not only of the indiscretions of the men involved, but also of the President's inability to apply his piously stated standards to his subordinates' work or even to his decisions to accept the many expensive gifts that were offered him.

Frier has rendered a distinct service in setting forth the facts. Yet his work has flaws. He is unsuccessful in trying to place the Eisenhower scandals in the context of those of the Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations. Although partisanship may enter in, the author's failure stems largely from too much hypothesizing and not enough digging for details. Certainly, his conclusion that the Kennedy and Johnson governments were relatively free from conflicts of interest suggests that Frier mistakes his inability to detect odor for the absence of skunk. Nevertheless, despite these problems and his penchant for moralizing, he has provided a valuable and readable guide to one of the Eisenhower administration's central problems.

*University of Kansas*

DONALD R. MCCOY

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHERN EDUCATION: THE SCHOOLS AND THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT.

By *Gary Orfield*. (New York: Wiley-Interscience. 1969. Pp. xi, 376. \$9.95.)

THIS excellent book by a political scientist at Princeton University provides a perceptive and extraordinarily comprehensive analysis of federal efforts to reconstruct Southern education under the aegis of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Essentially a study of the political and administrative struggle, it focuses on the activities of a few civil servants in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare who worked out policies to make effective use of the law, especially Title VI, which authorized the withholding of funds from schools that continued to practice racial segregation. The

Brown decision of 1954 forced "the contradiction between equal rights and local control to the center of American politics," but as a decade of tedious litigation demonstrated, fundamental change required that the federal bureaucracy join the courts in the battle for equal rights. The shift in public opinion prompted by the Birmingham crisis of 1963 created "unique historical circumstances" in which the bureaucracy moved from a position of complicity in the operation of segregated schools to one of active involvement in the elimination of such institutions.

Professor Orfield describes in illuminating detail the tortuous process by which bureaucrats in HEW hammered out the guidelines and administrative reorganization essential to the success of the program of desegregation under Title VI. Among those who played key roles in this process were David Seeley, G. W. Foster, Jr., and James Quigley. That they sometimes made mistakes is demonstrated by the fiasco in Chicago. However important the Chicago affair was in the evolution of the total administrative policy, it scarcely warrants so much attention. More pertinent and revealing is the chapter on Virginia that points up the patterns of Southern reaction. Experienced in the arts of legal subterfuge and obstruction, Southern schoolmen and politicians often rallied behind the freedom-of-choice plan in the hope of transforming it into a device for perpetuating segregated schools.

Throughout the volume Orfield emphasizes that the "highly decentralized power relationships" within the federal system tended to protect the local status quo and to thwart powerful central leadership. Hence, when Congress began to respond to a public opinion more concerned with Negro rioting than with Negro rights, the change had a profound impact upon HEW programs. Beginning in 1966, external pressures generated a "siege mentality" among federal administrators. Local power was allowed to erode the official commitment to Negro rights by imposing critical limitations on the exercise of administrative authority. Only an unusual "concentration of liberal seniority" on crucial congressional committees prevented the emasculation of administrative efforts in Southern education that "had become the cutting edge of civil rights enforcement."

Professor Orfield is not especially optimistic about the future. He believes that completion of educational reconstruction in the South is dependent upon a renewal of the national commitment to racial justice. His findings regarding the resegregation of schools in the region under the Nixon Administration, published since the appearance of this book, indicate that his lack of optimism was well founded.

*University of Georgia*

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

AN AMERICAN MELODRAMA: THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1968. By *Lewis Chester et al.* (New York: Viking Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 814. \$10.00.)  
THE LESSONS OF VICTORY. By the Ripon Society. (New York: Dial Press. 1969. Pp. 411. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.65.)

At present the overriding significance of the 1968 campaign seems to have been less the triumph of Richard Nixon over Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace than its spring prelude, the national uprising within the Democratic party against President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Vietnam War. The focal point was the campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy and the outpouring of enthusiastic young amateurs to participate in the "children's crusade" for his cause. If this focus continues relevant, these two books, both the work of young authors, will be of lasting value.

*An American Melodrama* by three members of the London *Sunday Times*

"Insight team" combines donnish allusions to scholarly authority with a "Beyond the Fringe" sort of wit and irreverence. Where else would the remarks of Ithiel de Sola Pool on the current role of America be paired with the peroration to Frederick Merk's *Manifest Destiny and Mission*? Or the term "bastard feudalism" be applied to the transit of Henry Kissinger and D. P. Moynihan from the service of one "good lord" to that of another? The section on the abortive candidacy of Senator Edward Kennedy at the Chicago convention is entitled "The Ted Offensive." And to head the chapter on Nixon's background and character is this quotation from Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*: "You'll like Dick. He's so square." This book will be mined for provocative allusions and lively quotations. It is even more interesting in its early pages upon McCarthy and his young following. It presents well McCarthy's complex personality, which seemed to contain some components of Sir Thomas More, Robert Lowell, and perhaps Ted Williams. It is more original in speculating upon the characteristics of his supporters. The older and closer to McCarthy, the greater the likelihood that their commitment was more to the Vietnam issue than to the man. The reverse was true among the young legions. Originally Allard Lowenstein, the man most responsible for setting the campaign in motion, recruited them "because we had no money and therefore no hope of getting anybody else to work for us." Their loyalty was fervid; they made McCarthy the personification of their aspirations. Few would switch to Robert Kennedy when he entered the race.

The attitude of the new generation was clear even among Senator Kennedy's junior staff assistants: "'Those New Frontier cats were out of the fifties,' one of the Young Turks said, pronouncing the decade with wonder and distaste as an old, ill-favored thing. 'Don't forget that JFK campaigned in sixty on Quemoy and Matsu and that Cold War crap, and on some mythical polls about how our prestige was down in Europe'" (pp. 111-12).

Not all angry young people were in the McCarthy or Kennedy entourages. Their numbers among the Republicans may have been relatively few, but several raised their voices challengingly in the Ripon Society's *The Lessons of Victory*. It contains a careful and scathing analysis of what they call "Nixon's noncampaign" and "the failures of the Republican moderates." They hope that Nixon will surprise them by becoming a Republican Disraeli who, although elected as the darling of the small towns, will save the cities. They hope he will in the end add to his entourage the groups they criticize him for not having courted in 1968—the young, the poor, and the black—and through them transform the Republicans into the majority party.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

THE SHAPING OF MODERN BRAZIL. Edited by *Eric N. Baklanoff*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Latin American Studies Institute. 1969. Pp. xviii, 164. \$6.50.)

COLLECTIONS of papers by various authors rarely demonstrate the unity one has a right to expect from a single book. This is especially so if the papers were delivered at a conference, as in this case for a Colloquium on the Modernization of Brazil held at Louisiana State University in 1967. Yet Eric N. Baklanoff has selected the papers and written the introduction with skill so that only one paper—James L. Busey's argument that the present military dictatorship is acting in accordance with norms imbedded in Brazil's past—strays from the main theme. Otherwise, from Manoel Cardozo's article on the colonial period to Kempton Webb's human-geographical

projections to the year 2000, the concept of modernization is central to the author's discussion, although Cardozo is understandably forced to wander away from it a bit often.

The use of this concept has both its dangers and its advantages. It enables the historian to discern unities where only differences were apparent before. For instance, recognition of the slow spread of a new world view marked by the belief in man over nature, social mobility, and secularism gives a meaning to events the significance of which is otherwise overlooked or the interrelationship of which is otherwise unclear. On the other hand, it may erroneously suggest a single and inevitable end to the historical process.

Most of the essays here are more noticeable for the latter defect than for the former virtue. Thus, while noting the steady spread of traditionally destructive agricultural techniques in Brazil, Webb is confident that the building of highways will open up an El Dorado by the year 2000. Despite the fact that there are more illiterates in Brazil today than in 1940, that Brazilian primary education tends "to stifle rather than develop the personality traits on which modernization depends," that mere primary education, as Ivan Illich has pointed out, may actually lessen the self-respect of the marginally educated vis-à-vis the luckier upper and middle classes, and that few Brazilians move beyond the first grades, J. V. D. Saunders, by stressing past gains, implies that the Brazilian educational system will soon push the country toward a modern society and economy.

Both John W. F. Dulles and Baklanoff make the mistake of attributing major changes in Brazil to single causes. Dulles, in his paper on "The Contribution of Getúlio Vargas to the Modernization of Brazil," not only fails to see that Vargas acted merely as a broker between old and new forces, but totally ignores the broad international and domestic forces that impelled Brazil toward industrialization and nationalistic economic measures between 1930 and 1954. On the other hand, Baklanoff's chapter on "External Factors in the Economic Development of Brazil's Heartland" errs in the opposite direction, giving all credit to foreign influences. Although one can agree with the general thrust of his argument, it is presented in a slipshod fashion and based on questionable assertions. One wonders, for instance, what evidence he has that the bulk of foreign public loans went into productive investments or that Brazil had little difficulty servicing these loans—most of them, I suspect, were used to refinance old ones. How has he arrived at the conclusion that Viscount Mauá had a great influence on Emperor Pedro II and persuaded him to support immigration schemes or that immigrants "created an environment in which democracy . . . could take root"? In short, Baklanoff is better as an editor than as a historian.

Taken as a whole, the papers reveal a strongly conservative bias. At a time when American businessmen are buying up Brazilian firms and concentrating economic power in their own hands at an unprecedented pace, Baklanoff points only to the universal virtues of foreign investment. Dulles is sure it was the Communists who stimulated the "ultranationalism" of the last Vargas years and that placards waved in the streets during the early days of 1964 were "Communist-inspired." Cardozo refers to the system of immense land grants or *sesmarias* of colonial days as a "Homestead Law" for small farmers. In the scheme by which Busey classifies governments there is no attempt to evaluate them either by their devotion to social justice or even by their commitment to modernization. Only Donald Huddle, in his highly technical article on inflation and growth, notes that the welfare of the people may depend on

revolutionary measures and that "the critical, longer-run problems of social and economic development have yet not been faced up to by the government."

*University of Utah*

RICHARD GRAHAM

ANTONIA SANTOS PLATA (GENEALOGÍA Y BIOGRAFÍA). By *Horacio Rodríguez Plata*. [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Volume CX. Academia Colombiana de Historia. Edición conmemorativa del sesquicentenario del sacrificio de la heroína.] (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1969. Pp. 261.)

IN varying degrees national academies of history in Spanish America have devoted their energies to erecting monuments in printed form to national heroes, particularly those who were active in the wars of independence. These publications are a special genre, one form of which is a narrative made up of documents related to the life of the subject (assiduously culled from national archives and the Archivo de Indias; notarial, municipal, and church archives; and manuscript collections in private hands) and tied together by transitional sentences supplied by the author, who also provides general statements on the larger events into which the subject's life fits. The major figures of the wars of independence have been treated in multivolume documentary collections and biographies. This example is concerned with a minor figure, one of the few Colombian female martyrs in the independence struggle.

Antonia Santos Plata, the fulcrum on which this interesting family genealogy is balanced, was born in 1782 on a modest hacienda in the province of Socorro—today the department of Santander—two months after the execution of José Antonio Galán, the leader of the Comunero Revolt, and died with two of her slaves before a firing squad in the city of Socorro on July 28, 1819, a week before the battle of Boyacá. The province was described by Spanish officials as the Manchester of the New Kingdom of Granada, the most populous region of the viceroyalty, and peopled by naturally industrious inhabitants with a propensity for revolution. Her maternal grandfather was the alcalde of both San Gil and Socorro, while her father was a captain of the Comuneros. She was raised in a climate of resistance to the fiscal and administrative impingements of the Bourbon reforms on the life of this manufacturing and tobacco growing area. With mother and father dead, she was the spinstress head of the hacienda during 1815–1819 when bands of *guerrilleros* were constantly active against the pacification efforts of the Spanish Army.

There is scant documentation on the heroine personally, and the interest of this volume is its presentation of the background and activities of a typical Socorro land-owning family from the late seventeenth until the close of the nineteenth century.

*Santiago, Chile*

JOHN P. HARRISON



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## Italy

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#### NATIONAL PERIOD

##### NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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## Communications

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In Philip Curtin's review of my book, *The White Conscience* (*AHR*, LXXV [Oct. 1969], 86), he touches on three points which, by their specific character, enable me to make a reasoned response. I will confine myself to those.

He speaks of my "dubious assumption that any part of mankind can legitimately be treated as an entity on account of its complexion." We all know that "white" and other color words are inexact, but we all use some of them. The book states (p. 7) that the term "white man" is understood therein to apply to "people of Europe and people anywhere of European descent." The Europeans accumulated their burden of culpability in no mystical way, but through aggression, tyranny, and racism. A considerable part of the text is devoted to surveying these acts throughout the world over a period of several hundred years. I do not believe that the white man is inherently worse than others. The Europeans simply had greater opportunities to assert overwhelming power (see my p. 6). The text does undertake to analyze the various processes of repression through which the crimes of nations, like the offenses of individuals, are often banished from memory, or are distorted into more comfortable form.

When the white man has made a careful "examination of his conscience," he can better understand the bewildering events of our time. The minds of our non-European neighbors have been distorted also by the indignities of imperialism and racism, and these distortions do not disappear promptly when national independence or racial justice is restored.

The reviewer says that the book introduces "the curious theory that Liverpool slavers took the slaves from Africa to their home port before reshipping them to the West Indies." Thus Professor Curtin implies that I said the Liverpool slavers usually followed this indirect route. I did say that thousands of slaves passed through Liverpool and that thousands worked in eighteenth-century England—certainly a small number, relatively. Roi Ottley's book, *No Green Pastures: The Negro in Europe Today* (1952), gives background on the Liverpool matter in his pages 18-19 and 27-28. An opinion from the city concerned is found in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, which calls Ottley's work "fair, objective, and frank."

Curtin also asks why I "bother to accuse the humanitarian Sierra Leone Company of participation in the slave trade when so many genuine slavers are available." I am thankful for the humanitarian qualities of the members of the Sierra Leone Company. At this point the book was discussing (pp. 92-93) projects for the liberation of slaves as causes of colonization. The "genuine slavers" are indeed discussed (pp. 63-67).

Colorado College

FRANK H. TUCKER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As a regular writer of reviews I am aware that any attempt to convey the sense of an entire book in the space of one or two pages constitutes courtship of distortion. I am also persuaded, however, that a primary aim of the book review (and particularly of the "minireview" or brief notice to which the pages of most American scholarly

journals are devoted) should nevertheless be that of conveying to the reader, if only in the most general way, some reasonably sound idea of what the book under review is about. Being so persuaded, I find myself compelled to register objection to a distortion in the pages of your journal—exceeding, in my judgment, the limits allowable by the nature of the medium—of the contents of my book, *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861*, reviewed by S. Frederick Starr (*AHR*, LXXV [Oct. 1969], 173).

I am speaking of distortion of fact in two statements by the reviewer: It is remarked that the liberal minority of gentry landholders, to whose activities most of the book is devoted, “is referred to throughout as simply ‘the gentry.’” I am not certain of the purpose for which this statement was made. (To imply that the book confounds the views of a minority with those of the class as a whole?) It is, however, untrue. Most of the book is, in fact, devoted to an effort to describe and explain the appearance, *among a minority of the gentry*, of abolitionist and liberal political convictions; and to come to terms with the problem of the *diversity* of gentry views as related to other kinds of diversity—in education, wealth, geographical location, and others. I have totaled the number of pages in the book directly devoted to explicit discussion of these questions, mostly in terms of “liberal minority vs. conservative majority,” and have arrived at a total of 204 (out of 425 pages of text; see especially pp. 46, 260–62, 309–18, 380–81, 387–88).

The reviewer asserts that in the book “Those officials who favored reform but sought to achieve it by administrative fiat are labeled bureaucrats and conservatives, in spite of the fact that, if the serf question had been left to be resolved by the majority of propertied Russians, the reform would have been emasculated even more completely than it was.” This statement is singularly false and doubly misleading. In the first instance, the assertion that these government planners of reform are referred to as conservatives is simply untrue: nowhere in the book are Nicholas Miliutin and his colleagues, government employees who advocated reform “by administrative fiat,” so labeled. (They are called “bureaucrats,” but for descriptive, rather than expletive, purposes.) They are, on the contrary, repeatedly called “progressive bureaucrats” or “liberal bureaucrats,” and are identified as the beneficiaries of the statist tradition in Russian progressive thought to which many of their liberal gentry opponents were equally indebted, as I explicitly remarked on pages 315–16: “The apparent paradox [arising from the great debt of 19th century Russian political thought to a rationalist belief in the progressive potential of unlimited autocracy] arises, of course, from the fact that the main enemies of the liberal gentry were just those progressive bureaucrats [*sic*] (of whom Nicholas Miliutin was the outstanding example) who were certainly the direct heirs of Speranskii.” In addition, although the bureaucracy is not the central subject of the book, many pages are devoted to the conflict, within the bureaucracy, between the reforming “progressives” and their conservative opponents—including information on names, ranks, and institutional affiliations (see especially pp. 48–52, 56, n., 61–62, 209–24, 229, 306–309, 328–31). Where are Miliutin and the other planners of reform referred to as “conservatives”? Nowhere. The second part of the quoted statement clearly implies that I think—since I allegedly regard the government planners as “conservatives”—that the *majority* of gentry could have been relied upon to carry out a more complete emancipation than that devised by the planners. Nowhere in the book is such an opinion given or intended. (It is argued that, *after the fact* of reform promulgation, the majority of landholders favored certain common amendments to the legislation, but that is another matter.)



The reviewer is certainly entitled to his opinion that the study is "Tied to an oversimplified conception of the basic nature of the reform process," but, in the company of the preceding assertions, this opinion only tends to compound the misrepresentation of the book.

Stanford University

TERENCE EMMONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am grateful for the opportunity to respond to Professor Terence Emmons' remarks on my review of his book. Let me do so in the same order that his comments were offered.

Professor Emmons is quite justified in drawing our attention to the several points at which he distinguishes among various factions of gentry and avers that the so-called liberals constituted a minority. Had he acknowledged internal contradictions, he might even have adduced further support for his self-defense. For example, although he reports that "the majority of the deputies [to the first convocations] were advocates of the *liberal gentry program*" (pp. 253, 264), he provides information in footnotes indicating that Unkovskii's Tver circle numbered only ten deputies, whereas those advocating the summoning of "class representatives" included nine deputies, and doctrinaire aristocrats numbered eleven (pp. 236, n., 237, n.). But the issue is not one merely of numerical majorities. Rather, it is a question of which faction molded gentry thinking, of who converted whom. Emmons states that Unkovskii's "liberal" critique "was raised to the level of an opposition program for the deputies as a whole" (p. 255). Yet, at the same time, he admits that "the opposition of the liberals themselves was acquired only through their confrontations with the Editing Commissions," whereas more class-conscious gentry had stood in opposition "for some time" (p. 261). At many points the planters clearly led the way. For instance, Emmons notes correctly that until the emancipation most of those who advocated central representation in any form were ideologists for the aristocracy. Yet within two years even the Tver gentry called for an assembly of elective representatives in Petersburg (pp. 313, 344). At other points the planters moved successfully to co-opt the program of Emmons' "liberals." When this happened, the conservative-liberal categories, even if consistently applied, break down entirely, leading to such statements as "the conservatives were the most liberal politically" (p. 392).

In his second point Professor Emmons argues fairly that he took greater cognizance of differences of opinion within the central administration than I credited him for. Here once more it was necessary for me to evaluate contradictory statements and to determine the views on which the argument was structured. Thus, in regard to the administrative reforms accompanying emancipation, Emmons claims that the government had only a bureaucratic plan for the reorganization of local institutions (p. 262), that "the bureaucracy" planned "to force the gentry entirely out of local affairs" (pp. 256, 297), and that under no circumstances would the government allow any public discussion of reform after 1860 (p. 313). The clear implication, accepted by Emmons, is that "the wide-ranging movement for the liberalization of the autocratic system" was "a movement in which the gentry played the leading role" (pp. 387, 416). Had *all* the "enlightened bureaucrats" been removed from office? Surely not. But the implication is clear that they had. Speaking both of the reform of local administration and the brilliant judicial reforms, Emmons states flatly in his "Conclusion" that "they bore the stamp of political concession and were carried



through by the momentum of the opposition movement" (pp. 416-17). Aside from contradicting arguments that Emmons presents in his rebuttal above, such statements considerably misrepresent the character of Russian reformism by conceiving of it as the consequence of clashes between conservative "government" and liberal "society." This is essentially the perspective of prerevolutionary Russian liberal historiography.

In short, Emmons' book does contain evidence that qualifies the general arguments I ascribed to it. Rather than dwell on the unrecognized and unresolved conflicts between such evidence and what seemed to be the leading theses of the work, I chose to describe and evaluate those theses themselves. But *The Russian Landed Gentry* remains, in my opinion, a serious and well-written narrative.

Princeton University

S. FREDERICK STARR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my opinion, Robert E. Brown in his review of *The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts* (*AHR*, LXXIV [June 1969], 1703-04) misrepresented my orientation as a historian and misconstrued the thesis of the book. First of all, I am a social historian interested in and intrigued by the multivariied complexity of colonial life; moreover, I believe that the microstudy approach offers one of the most fruitful forms for analytical research in this area. In attempting to reconstruct the history of the Otis family and the pre-industrial communities of Hingham, Scituate, and Barnstable in which they lived, I have used the analytical tools of our own age. Wherever possible, I have tried to quantify data on land and office holding, property accumulation, political service, and family structure. I did not intend to ride the straw horse of how democratic "eighteenth-century American society was," if for no other reason than that this kind of monistic questioning begs the question; nor did I choose to support the "view of the neoprogessives" in favor of elites.

I had expected that my book, which won the 1968 Jamestown Foundation Award, would be judged and reviewed on the basis of sources utilized, methodological concerns, and originality of presentation rather than whether or not it happened to agree with the Brown thesis! My concern was with the workings of a society on the local level, socialization patterns, and mobility as seen in the history of the Otises through five generations. In this quest it was my good fortune to be the first historian to utilize the "missing" family papers that are now in the special collections of the Butler Library, Columbia University. We can now attempt to evaluate the Otises from their own papers rather than our past dependence upon Hutchinson and Bernard materials for that purpose. Brown is correct in the general agreement of the Otises and Hutchinson concerning the "popular" nature of Boston politics. But Boston does "not explain colonial Massachusetts." If Brown had paid attention to the seven out of ten chapters in my book that deal with Hingham, Scituate, and Barnstable, it might have occurred to him that the typologies of those communities were not identical with Thomas Hutchinson's Boston.

University of Rochester

JOHN J. WATERS, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In response to Professor Waters' protest of my review of his book, I can only say that my original impression as expressed in the review still stands. We cannot understand the successes or failures of an important political family such as the Otis family

unless we know with some degree of certainty the milieu or "climate of opinion" in which its members operated. My contention is that, regardless of his methods and intentions, Professor Waters has, in fact, entered the neoprogressive-revisionist controversy over the nature of the milieu in Massachusetts and that his generalizations about domination by an elite and a ruling oligarchy are contradicted by his own evidence.

Professor Waters should realize that, in the final analysis, his book will be judged not so much by what I say about it, but by what the profession thinks about it. Readers can now compare my review, Professor Waters' protest, and my response with his book and decide for themselves.

*Michigan State University*

ROBERT E. BROWN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

For the record, may I draw attention to a gremlin that crept into Robert H. Ferrell's excellent review of *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs* (*AHR*, LXXV [Dec. 1969], 613). It was Louis M. Howe, not FDR, who declared in October 1935 that Breckinridge Long "has been hypnotized by Mussolini."

*University of Kentucky*

HOLMAN HAMILTON

\* \* \* \*

## *Association Notes*

\* \* \* \*

Miss Patricia M. Fox and Miss M. Rita Howe have resigned as associate editors of the *American Historical Review* and have joined the staff of the Harvard University Press. The *AHR* has been fortunate to secure the services of Miss Nancy Lane as associate editor. She was formerly associate editor of the *Political Science Quarterly*. Miss Sally Banks and Miss Paulette Todd have joined the *AHR* as editorial assistants to replace Mrs. Barbara Koziarz and Miss Diana Hill.

★ ★ ★ ★      *Recent Deaths*      ★ ★ ★ ★

Howard R. Weisz, of Rosedale, New York, died in July 1969.

Edgar N. Johnson, a professor at the University of Massachusetts, died December 31, 1969.

Henry Schwarz, a professor at Wellesley College, died January 4, 1970.

John Gardner Greene of Orlando, Florida, died recently.

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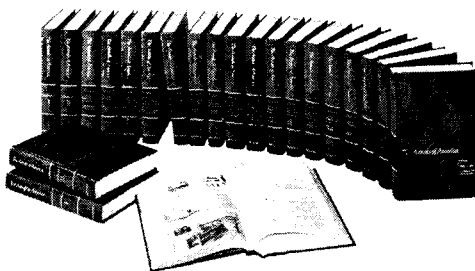
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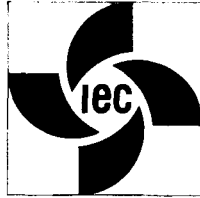
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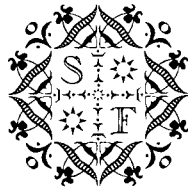
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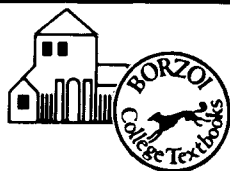
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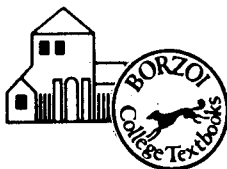
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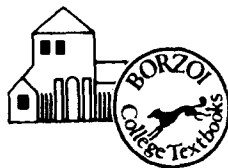
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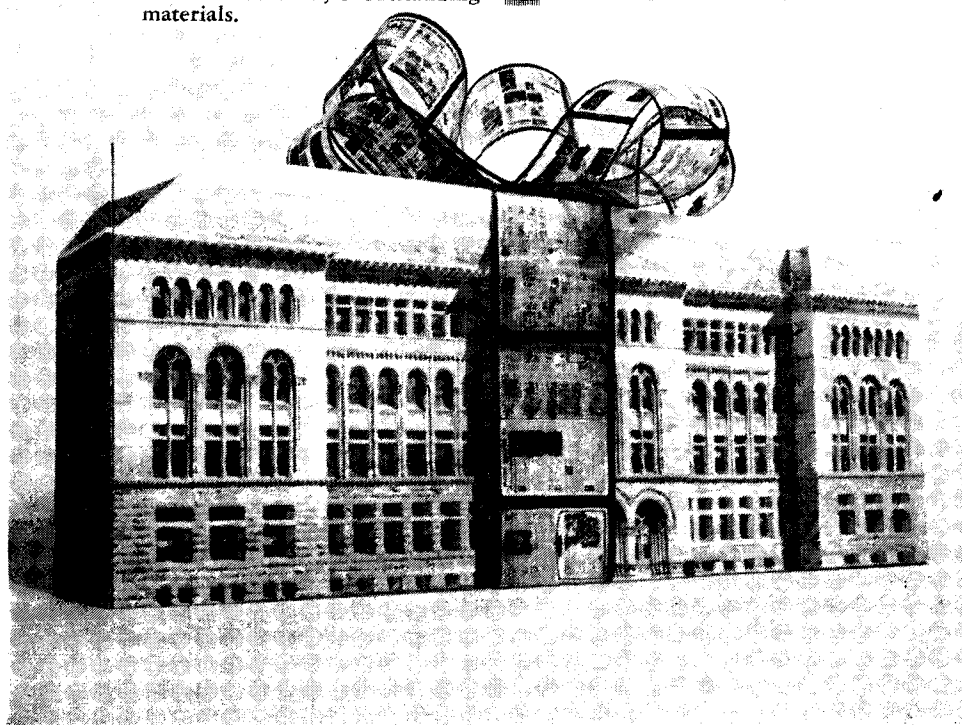
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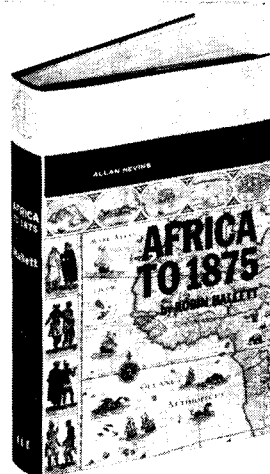
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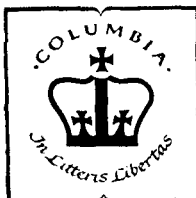
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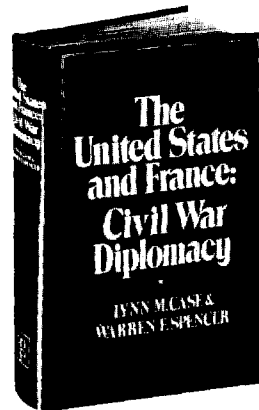


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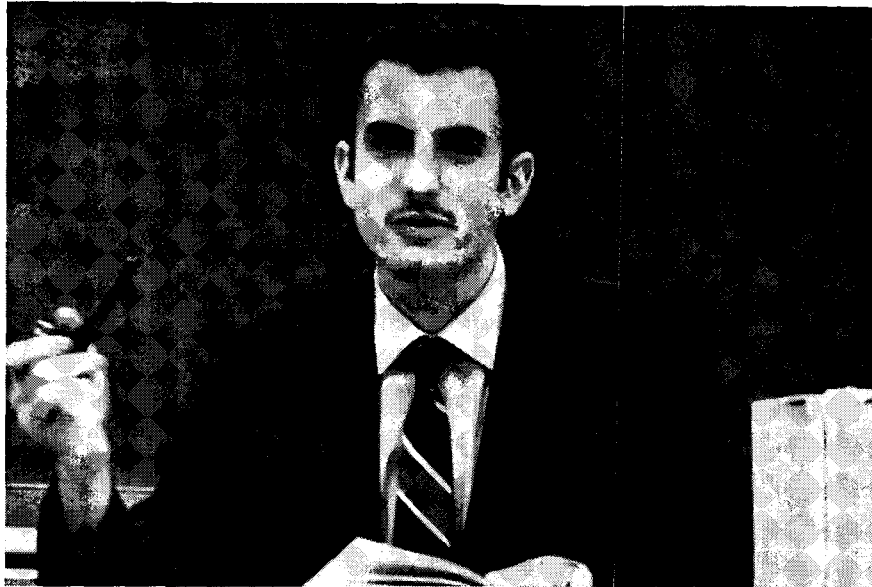
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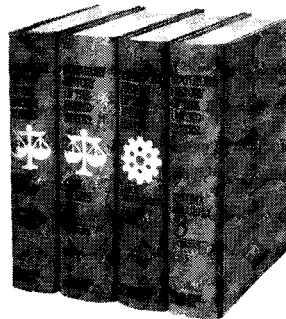
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